

AT McMASTERS UNIVERSITY, HAMILTON

PROPOSED AGENDA

Friday, January 21st:

6-8 P.M. Registration

8:30 P.M. Opening Session (open to the General Public)  
"The Developing Working Class and National Struggle in Quebec"

The main Speaker will be one of the central leaders of the Quebec Labour Movement.

Saturday, January 22nd:

9-10 A.M. Registration

10 A.M.- 12 noon: Plenary session  
"A Strategic Overview for the Waffle in the Coming Period"  
A series of papers representing different strategic approaches will be presented to be followed by a general discussion.

12-1:30 P.M. Lunch Break

1:30-3:00 P.M. Workshops

1. Federal elections
2. Resources and auto industry campaigns
3. Socialist strategy at the local level

3:30-5:30 P.M. Plenary  
"The Role of the Waffle in the Organized Labour Movement"  
Position papers will be presented to be followed by general discussion.

5-7 P.M. Supper Break

7-8:30 P.M. Plenary  
"The Role of the Waffle in the Movement for Womens' Liberation"  
Position papers will be presented to be followed by a general discussion.

8:45-10:15 P.M. Plenary  
"Culture and the Media in the Struggle for an Independant Socialist Canada"  
Position papers will be presented to be followed by general discussion.

10:30 P.M. Evening Social gathering

Sunday, January 23rd:

10:30 A.M.-12 noon. Workshops on organizational work in:

1. Trade Unions
2. Womens' Liberation Movement
3. Schools and Universities
4. Immigrant Organizations

12-1:30 P.M. Lunch Break

1:30-6 P.M. Closing Plenary.  
This session will be devoted mainly to discussions on organizational matters of the Ontario Waffle. We will also pass resolutions on matters which arose during the course of the Conference.

278 Havelock St.,  
Toronto 5, Ont.,  
Feb. 7, 1972.

Dear Riding Association President or Secretary,

We, the undersigned members of the NDP and supporters of the Waffle grouping within the NDP, would like to call your attention to certain matters slated to come up at the March Provincial Council Meeting. Your riding association might well want to take some action on them.

The specific resolution likely to be presented goes as follows:

"Be it resolved that Article II section I, subsection I (of the Party Constitution) be interpreted as follows:

Exclusion from membership for belonging to or supporting another political party include those that adhere to any clearly identifiable ongoing political group who organize, solicit funds, employ staff, hold press conferences to expound their own point of view instead of operating within and supporting democratically arrived at decisions of the party through conventions and council action."

This resolution was passed by Hamilton Mountain riding association in November, to be forwarded to the Provincial Council. If the Council passes it the resolution would give the party executive the power to expel any party member who is active in the Waffle group or even supports its activities. It could lead to a purge of loyal party members which would do tremendous damage to our party.

The present status of the resolution is unclear. NDP Provincial Office will neither confirm nor deny that it will appear. In addition, the resolution may not be within the constitutional competence of the Provincial Council.

In the normal course of things, we might ignore this resolution as not having sufficient support to merit concern. But, in recent weeks, a couple of prominent party members have voiced similar or more extreme sentiments favouring the silencing of supporters of the Waffle group. Ian Deans, MPP for Wentworth and newly appointed NDP House Leader has publicly supported the resolution. Dennis McBurnett, Canadian director of the CAW has called for a showdown between various groupings in the NDP and has publicly attacked Jim Laxer and Waffle supporters for sponsoring a conference on Trudeau's Auto Pact sell-out.

We think that these attacks on the Waffle group are unwarranted and that muzzling Waffle supporters would do irreparable harm to the NDP. In the course of its challenge to the present directions of the party, the Waffle's contribution has been very positive and has helped attract many active new members. Jim Laxer's showing at the federal leadership convention last April indicates that there is widespread support for these new directions. We cannot help but think that the recent criticisms are due more to an upsetting of what were considered as private preserves than to a genuine weighing of the situation. We think that passage of the Hamilton Mountain resolution would amount to a serious restriction of the democratic rights and liberties of rank and file party members and risks doing grave damage to the Party.

We would like to detail some of the positive contributions that members of the Waffle grouping, who have been among the most active of party members, have made over the last two years.

At the Winnipeg federal convention in October 1969, the challenge presented by the "Manifesto for an Independent, Socialist Canada" opened up a wide-ranging public debate on the questions of independence and socialism that has had a profound impact on the political life of Canada and has been one of the major blows against the Trudeau government's popularity.

In April 1970, Waffle members initiated a campaign to save the jobs of 600 Dunlop Rubber Workers. The campaign was picked up and carried on by the Ontario NDP.

In September 1970, the Waffle sponsored nation-side demonstrations against the sell-out of natural gas to the United States and against the whole

Continental Energy Deal. Later, the Ontario NDP Convention voted overwhelmingly to sponsor a broad public campaign against the deal. Little action has yet been forthcoming, but Jim Laxer and Jim Littleton of the Waffle have followed up with an expose on the Energy Deal. This article was reprinted in the Last Post and distributed as a brochure to many thousands of Canadians.

In October 1970, at a time when the NDP was being attacked on all sides across the country, the Waffle organized several large public meetings to support the stand taken by 16 NDP MP's against the War Measures Act. David Lewis, Ed Broadbent and others spoke at these rallies in Toronto, attended by several thousand people, and forcefully presented the NDP position. The importance of these rallies has now been vindicated by changing public opinion.

In June 1971, the Waffle initiated a counter-conference to Bill Davis' conference on Economic and Cultural Nationalism. The provincial caucus soon joined in and the NDP agreed to officially sponsor the conference.

In September 1971, the Waffle organized NDP members to support and join the picket line in the strike against Texpack, subsidiary of the giant American Hospital Supply Corporation. The union welcomed support of the many rank and file NDPers who turned out and after some months, the long and bitter strike was won.

In November 1971, supporters of the Waffle from various union locals joined together at the Ontario Federation of Labour Convention to form a caucus. Similar to the Reform Caucus of the CLC Convention in many respects, the Waffle Caucus attracted a fair number of union delegates to talk about the issues coming up on the floor and to discuss politics and unionism generally. Prior to the convention a statement of position on various labour issues was printed up by a group of unionists supporting the Waffle.

In January 1972 the Waffle group sponsored a conference on the Auto Pact sellout in Windsor. The meeting was a tremendous success, attracting over 350 participants, many of them auto workers from nearby plants. Ed Broadbent, MP and Ted Bounsall, newly elected NDP MPP, addressed the group. The meeting, endorsed by the Windsor and District Labour Council, engendered serious discussion of the importance of Auto Pact safeguards to Canadian workers and of the future of the Canadian industry. It also earned accolades of the Windsor Star.

This list, itself only partial, gives some idea of why we think the Waffle grouping is an important asset to the party. Clearly this kind of activity has only been possible with Waffle supporters organized as a definite grouping within the party.

The aim of Waffle supporters is to push the NDP into more and more extra-parliamentary action around the issues we talk so much about. This then can be combined with our electoral activity in a way which will aid both. We think that by being organized as a grouping we have, in fact, been successful in making our party more active and alive.

It is quite true that Waffle supporters have disagreements with the present directions of the party and have worked at conventions, council meetings and in between to present our views. We believe that the democratic rights of minority viewpoints must include the right to organize dissent and we believe that the Waffle grouping has done that effectively and reasonably. We don't believe that any one group in the party, such as certain union leaders, should have the right to silence the dissent of any other group.

We are encouraged by the response thus far of other riding associations. The Bellwoods riding has passed the following resolution:

"Whereas, in view of the resolution passed by the Hamilton

Mountain riding association relating to the Waffle group (as reported in the Globe and Mail, Nov. 30), there are serious grounds for concern that some elements in the party might want to resolve the debate between the Waffle and the present majority in the NDP through administrative action rather than open ideological debate:

Be it resolved that: The membership of Bellwoods riding association urges the party not to embark on this course. It is our feeling that Waffle supporters are loyal members of our party. Any attempts to limit debate through administrative measures can only, in the end, do irreparable damage to the party."

We hope your riding association will consider this very important matter and will give whatever direction you deem proper to your provincial council representatives.

Yours in Socialism,

Jim Laxer - Toronto  
Mel Watkins- Toronto  
Ellie Prepas - Toronto  
Doris Jantzi - Toronto  
Bill Walsh - Hamilton  
John Smart - Ottawa  
Mary Campbell- London  
Carol Peterson - Toronto  
Fay Bender - Oshawa  
Steve Penner -Toronto

RESOLUTION PASSED BY ST. DAVID EXECUTIVE ON FEBRUARY 14, 1972

Be it resolved that Article III, Section A, Subsection I of the Party's Constitution be interpreted as follows:

Exclusion from membership for supporting another political party include only those persons:

- a) supporting a candidate who is not an N.D.P. candidate in an election in which an N.D.P. candidate is running for the same position in the same constituency ( If two of the same positions are open and only one candidate is running on the N.D.P. label, a member of the N.D.P. who supports another candidate shall be deemed not to be violating this clause)
- b) being a candidate or supporting a candidate or candidates running on a platform divergent from the platform of the N.D.P. in an election in which the N.D.P. is taking an active part.

RESOLUTION: HAMILTON MOUNTAIN NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

WHEREAS one of the principle distinctions between the New Democratic Party and other political parties is its open structure and adherence to the democratic process within the Party,

WHEREAS the internal democratic processes of the Party do not function properly with the existence of ongoing organized pressure groups within the Party,

AND WHEREAS one such ongoing organized pressure group exists within the Party and has already reduced the level of individual participation in the Party, particularly at federal and provincial conventions, and has reduced public confidence in the ability of the Party to govern,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Hamilton Mountain New Democrats ask the Provincial Council, at the first meeting in 1972, to adopt the following resolution and forward it to the Federal Council upon adoption, with any amendments:

BE IT RESOLVED that Article 11, Section 1, Subsection (1) be interpreted as follows: Exclusion from membership for belonging to or supporting another political party include those who adhere to any clearly identifiable ongoing political group who organize, solicit funds, employ staff, hold press conferences to expound their own point of view instead of operating within and supporting democratically arrived at decisions of the Party through Convention and Council action.

JP ACP

Whereas Stephen Lewis's March 18th speech to the ONDP Council <sup>in effect</sup> calls upon a current within the party to disband as an organized caucus or face expulsions from the party, and

Whereas the speech constitutes a sweeping attack on the rights of the party or any tendencies within it to formulate and counterpose an alternate program, strategy or leadership in an open and unrestrained manner and at properly constituted conventions, and

Whereas the debate of issues and policy confronting the NDP cannot be conducted in an atmosphere as launched at the March 18 council session, which can only undermine the ability of the party to remain relevant to changing reality,

Be it resolved that .....

[<sup>or</sup> express its opposition] to the divisive attack launched against the Waffle by the Leadership, and at the same time reaffirm the right of minority viewpoints to caucus as organized tendencies within the party, so long as they abide by the program and principles of the party.

[Urge other ridings and affiliated organizations to join us in expressing our opposition]

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CAMPAIGN TO REPEAL THE ABORTION LAWS.

The January 28, 1972 court order pulled Ottawa women out of hospital and prevented her from obtaining an abortion. This abortion had been approved by a hospital committee on the grounds that the mother's life was endangered and the fetus was probably going to be deformed. This set the precedent that anyone could walk off the street, claim guardianship of any woman's fetus and prevent her from having an abortion; thus forcing motherhood on women who are unwilling, unprepared and unable to care for the child. This case shows that even the limited legal channels which make any abortion without hospital committee approval a crucial act are totally meaningless. Above all it exposed the complete denial of any rights a woman has in determining whether and when she can have a child.

Winning this right for a woman to be the sole judge on whether or not she wished to have an abortion is a most fundamental step towards the liberation of women. This right is essential in assuring our mental, emotional and physical health. It is essential in ensuring that "every mother is a willing mother and 'every child a wanted child'". (Besides assuring the security of already existing children in a family.) It is a basic human right giving us women control over our bodies, and lives. It ends that age-old myth that biology is our destiny. No longer can they tell us, that money spent on our education is wasted; or hiring or promoting us is a risk, because all we would end up doing is getting married and or pregnant. Especially working class women suffer under the present conditions, because they lack leisure, funds and connections to go through all the channels to get legal abortions in Canada or abroad.

Those who shrug off a campaign to repeal abortion laws by suggesting that women could win this struggle without major efforts or that women will not further their political consciousness through such a campaign do not realize what we are up against. Women gaining greater self-confidence, asking for more jobs, greater equality, responsibility and dignity, is the last thing the government, the courts, big business, and the catholic church.. They will do all in their power to keep women "in our places". Trudeau's stalling the tremendous funds behind the "Right to Life", "Alliance for Life, and "Birth Right" campaigns clearly indicate the power of the established interests. What other aspect of women's oppression can so effectively demonstrate to the vast number of unpoliticized women the reality of this system, the real forces behind our oppression. The campaign to win the right to abortion will bring women into direct confrontation with these forces, a confrontation which will pose the question of who are our allies and what is the real solution to our oppression. Of course the NDP and other organizations of the working class, such as the trade unions have no vested interests in the status quo. On the contrary, they emerge as the only defenders and allies of women's rights, with socialism being posed as the logical and only solution able to encompass and lead to women's liberation. To assure that women are aware of these "facts of life" socialists, have to be directly involved in the struggle. The NDP has to be taken to these women and these women to the NDP. ~~the NDP is the only party that has been active in the campaign to repeal the abortion laws~~

Party and trade union bureaucrats are petrified or precisely enemies of the women's movement, because it poses for them an

ongoing and sharp confrontation with the established system, with whom they are hoping to be able to coexist on the basis of a few reforms. But his only puts the onus on us as socialists and activists in the NDP to be seen as the activists in the campaign itself as well as in the Party.

It was we in the Waffle who won the federal and Ontario NDP to its strong stand defending women's rights. The experience in Manitoba has shown that the significance of this position is by no means understated. The Party will require our continuing intervention and education and above all activation to become relevant to ~~xxx~~ radicalizing women.

The campaign has only started. Its scope is yet little understood. Broad coalitions uniting all women behind the need to repeal the abortion laws have been started in every province. In Ontario over a dozen organizations including the Ontario New Democratic Party have given its backing. A massive 100,000 petition campaign behind MP McInnis' and Chappel's private members bill, ~~publicizing~~ calling for repeal is being organized. Educational meetings, publications and campaigns are needed. Rallies and demonstrations are being projected. But unless these can fill the largest arenas in this country the battle won't be won. We have been talking a lot about extra-parliamentary activities, this is going to be the most significant one yet in this century. For the first time since the suffragette movement we have the perspective to mobilize our ~~xxxx~~ sisters in a massive ~~xxxxxxxx~~ social struggle. What a tremendous boost such a victory would mean to us both as individuals and as an oppressed majority! It would enable women to feel for the first time our collective strength. We would learn how to organize ourselves, we would gain confidence in ourselves and would create women leaders who could prove to everyone that we are no longer the second sex.

As Wafflers and ~~xxx~~ as socially conscious women we cannot afford to abstain from this challenge. We have got to become the catalysts between the campaign for this basic ~~xxxx~~ right and its implications which lead through the NDP towards a socialist consciousness.

*Rozanne Dectoreau*  
R. Dectoreau

Read Feb 20, 1972.

This waffle conference is held in the setting of an international assault by corporations and capitalist governments on the workers. Phases I and II of Nixon's economic "game plan" attempt to shift the economic burden of the Vietnam war on to the backs of the working class. Workers defending their working standard and living conditions will increasingly be forced into confrontation with their bosses and governments. Trade union bureaucrats like Woodcock, Abel, and Meany, sitting on Nixon's Pay Board will be warily scrutinized by politicizing workers. Canadian workers will look more and more to the NDP to defend their class interests.

What is posed, though, is more than the politicization of the class--the leadership of the class is at stake. Will the NDP remain under the control of the parliamentary reformists and the trade union bureaucrats who seek no programmatic break with the capitalist system; or can the left propel NDP'ers into mass struggles for real social change and for a new, socialist leadership of the party?

The radicalization of which Waffle is a part has not yet deeply penetrated the trade unions. Yet we have tended to shift our work in the past period toward the unions--in a somewhat unbalanced manner--neglecting the main areas of radicalization which can have a big impact on the NDP and class struggle as a whole. This shift followed the April 1971 Federal NDP Convention where the Waffle ran up against the brass' machine. It stems from a recognition of the power and centrality of the organized working class and its indispensability in effecting any social change. This recognition is necessary--<sup>but in our opinion</sup> the sharp turn is not. The latest example of this shift--the Windsor Auto pact conference--<sup>had the effect of</sup> ~~was the effect of~~ <sup>substituted</sup> the Waffle for the union movement and the process of radicalization which is only in its infancy. Interventions of this sort--without a real base--leave the Waffle open to democratic smears from bureaucrats like McDermott. It is questionable whether workers will be mobilized at this stage over economic nationalist appeals about the continental energy deal or the auto pact.

In fact, the Bell strike, which revealed a real combativity and feminist consciousness and the Amchitka "p.s." which saw 60,000 B.C. workers down their tools

indicate that feminist, anti-war and Canadian nationalist sentiment from the independent movements are radicalizing factors in the trade union movement.

Workers will not act on radical rhetoric from outside their ranks. Concern for jobs, working conditions, the inadequacy of the present leadership will generally be expressed in demands for rank and file control over the unions, Canadian autonomy to meet the needs of Canadian workers and a fight for a militant class struggle program linked to the fight for an NDP government. The day to day struggle around such issues against the union bureaucrats with the aid of the intervention of socialists rooted in the ranks will speed the process of radicalization among Canadian workers.

The Waffle can not artificially cast itself as the not yet realized radicalization of the workers. Nor can it bypass the existing workers' organizations. Likewise, the development of an explicitly "socialist program for Canadian trade unionists" does not respond to the real challenge before us.

Instead, we must actively build the independent movements--and fight for the leadership of the NDP on a program of support for the emerging mass movements which challenge capitalist society. Carrying the struggle for repeal of the abortion laws, an end to Canadian complicity and a break with American military alliances directly to NDP members will build the Waffle.

Supporting anti-bureaucratic workers' struggles and popularly posing slogans like Canadian union autonomy, rank and file control of the union and the plant to oppose the brass and "management rights"; 30 hours work for 40 hours pay and a sliding scale of hours to combat unemployment; vacations with full pay instead of layoffs; COL clauses to combat inflation; and similar planks in a class-struggle program for workers--combined with the impact of the independent radicalizing movements can serve to develop a consciousness in masses of Canadian workers that can bridge the gap between their reformist illusions and anti-capitalist solutions. This can help crystallize a mass left-wing movement in the unions and the NDP out of which a new, militant class struggle leadership will be forced.

Meyer Shapiro    CUPW  
St. Sinclair      UAW

Read Feb 20, 1972

How do we organize an effective anti-imperialist movement in Canada?

To answer this question we must first assess where the sentiment in Canada is at (or if it exists) and how we can best relate to it.

In my opinion the sentiment definitely exists. Students dislike textbooks and courses that are oriented totally to the United States; most people are sick and tired of Madison Ave. oriented T.V. that they get drummed into them every day; Canadians feel that the American cities are cruel, alienating, and violent and they do not want the same to happen in Canada; to many in Canada the U.S. is a war oriented country--the continuing slaughter in Vietnam by the U.S. makes them doubly indignant; and, of course, Canadians more and more resent the growing domination of this country by the United States.

The sentiment is not anti-American people. English Canadians do not feel any hatred toward Americans. Our way of life is much the same as their's. The sentiment is directed toward the whole system that exploited both Canadians and Americans. The demonstrations against Amchitka, the nuclear blast which symbolized

the U.S. war machine, were the largest in the history of Canada. They showed the tremendous mobilizing potential of this sentiment.

The logic of this sentiment leads people against the Canadian government led by Trudeau. Although the Canadian ruling class has its own independent tradition and power, it has consciously tied itself to the U.S. ruling class as a junior partner, a mutually profitable relationship. The anti-imperialist sentiment leads to a consciousness that Canada has to be restored and saved by breaking it away from the racist, violent, strife torn system to the south.

In my opinion this sentiment has been fueled primarily by opposition to the war in Vietnam which, over the years, has been focussed in the antiwar movement. Lets look around us. For ~~has~~ many of us the antiwar movement was our first political experience. Today revulsion against the war is still of increasing concern for thousands.

Not only that. The antiwar movement in Canada challenges Trudeau to break from the war machine. It orients concretely to the existing level of consciousness of Canadians: revulsion against the war and against U.S. domination of Canada. The antiwar movement has and will remain the strongest expression of the growing anti-imperialist sentiment simply because it most concretely to appeals to ~~the sentiment~~ the sentiment--people can see exactly what we mean and demand and because it has already become the most successful political force to mobilize this sentiment into mass action.

The problems of inflation, unemployment, layoffs, and plant closures resulting largely from the American war-sickened economy can be exposed through the antiwar movement. It leads people to a socialist consciousness simply because it strikes at the heart of capitalism -- it wars, inflation, unemployment and imperialist domination of Canada.

We in the Waffle should speak for this movement within the NDP and ~~attempt~~ attempt to organize NDP rank and file activists and supporters to build the antiwar movement. The NDP should take up the demand "break Canada from the U.S. war machine" in the coming federal elections. The coming International Peace Action Day against the ~~aggression~~ aggression in Vietnam, ~~April 22~~ April 22, gives us a good opportunity to focus our

activity and draw as many people into the movement as we can.

Wafflers have said the antiwar movement narrows the anti-imperialist struggle because it is single issue. I think this misunderstands the strategy of reaching the people of Canada who are ~~increasingly~~ incensed by the war machine, and developing this sentiment toward a socialist consciousness. ~~This process~~

~~requires~~

The key to this process is mass mobilizations which confront Nixon and Trudeau with a real power. Many of the people brought into the struggle in this way will come to socialist conclusions like we have in the past, join the Waffle, and help fight for a socialist program in the NDP. Furthermore mass actions give us a real opportunity to popularize our views through leaflets, speakers, and newspapers to an audience that is more receptive than any other.

This movement, its program and mass action potential, answer our often expressed need for extraparliamentary action. Already the NDP, the political arm of the working class movement in this country, has been deeply effected by the movement. The federal party now demands the withdrawal of all US forces from Vietnam. It is up to us in the Waffle to take the NDP into this radicalization and to radicalize the NDP along the way.

We can be very optimistic, especially following the massive upsurge against the Amchitka blast, that thousands--workers, students, women, unemployed--will be radicalized in the next period through the antiwar movement, and many more if we war in there building it.

28/2/72

Whereas the New Democratic Party expresses the aspirations of the full spectrum of Canadian working people for a qualitatively better way of life, and

Whereas the NDP welcomes to its ranks all those who support the party and express a willingness to abide by its program and principles, and

Whereas the party must be representative of the full diversity of views among its constituents, so that the party as a whole can all the more effectively meet the challenges which lie ahead,

Be it resolved that the executive of Riverdale riding express its opposition to the intent of the motion passed by the Hamilton Mountain riding association as well as any other attempt to limit the debate within the party through administrative measures which would curtail the rights of minorities to organize around dissenting viewpoints within the party.

A BRIEF TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

FROM ST. ANDREW-ST. PATRICK RIDING ASSOCIATION

PREAMBLE

This brief was prepared by a six-person committee elected at a general meeting of the St. Andrew-St. Patrick riding Association, and was ratified at a subsequent general meeting.

In responding to the last Ontario Provincial Council meeting we have found ourselves confronted with a very difficult task. The leader's report and the debate which followed dealt, ostensibly, with the narrow issue of the presence and structure of the Waffle group within the NDP. However, the intensity of the debate and speech pointed out that much more is involved than that limited question.

We are attempting to communicate, within a restrictive amount of time for preparation, to a committee which has what appears to have deliberately limited terms of reference. The commission's task is to report on the questions of the Waffle in the NDP, and membership responsibility. We recognize that, to a large extent, policy differences have brought about the present crisis in our party, and although we as a committee cannot attempt to resolve them, we do feel that by dealing with decision-making, power distribution, and accountability within the NDP we can make recommendations that would ensure free and democratic debate on pressing policy differences.

Our discussions will cover the following points:

- 1) As a physically and politically diverse party, the NDP must recognize that organization around varying points of view within the party is both inevitable and necessary. We point out that the Waffle as a group has made positive contributions to policy debate within the party largely because of their collective efforts.
- 2) The relationship between the party and its affiliated organizations must be examined, especially in terms of two questions: the right of these organizations to non-interference in their internal affairs, and the right of the party to determine how these organizations may affect party decisions.
- 3) While the party constitution deals broadly with the responsibilities of

individual members, it does not deal with those of the people charged with implementing party decisions -- the provincial office and executive, the party caucus in the legislative assembly, and the party; this is a glaring error and a serious fault.  
leader

4) Internal communication in the NDP must be redesigned. Currently, it is extremely difficult to establish any form of "horizontal" communication; that is, everything must flow up then back down between membership units and provincial office. Further, there seems to be little obligation of the party hierarchy to report to the membership. The party must promote, actively, greater intra-party communication.

5) The quality of debate, and as a result, the quality of the party's policies, depends directly on equality of opportunity of expression. We note here that the last provincial council meeting and the last issue of the "New Democrat" did not offer any semblance of opportunity for rebuttal by the critics to Stephen Lewis' speech.

In the following pages we will develop these points more thoroughly.

It is the clear feeling of our riding association that the Provincial Executive must report to the next Provincial Council meeting that it cannot answer the questions posed to the executive without questioning the very basic procedures now existing for decision-making and power distribution within the NDP, and that changes in these procedures are required.

In a democratic-socialist party it is the unchallengeable right of all members to freely express their opinions upon all matters of policy. This right is all the more necessary in view of the fact that historically the CCF-NDP has represented a union of various groups (such as farm and labour) who were divergent in background, programmes, and to some extent interests, although united in their opposition to the oppressive nature of the economic and social system. This traditionally pluralist quality is reinforced by the existence with Canada's distended geographical setting of a multiplicity of cultures and ethnic groups and regional loyalties. For the NDP to truly represent the interests of these groups and for the party to find among this diversity a genuine unity, it is essential that the party guarantee free expression on all issues.

Furthermore, the same geographical and cultural diversity make it essential that like-minded individuals have the right to organize into groups or caucuses in order to better understand their own interests and to more effectively influence the creation and elaboration of party policy. All groups must abide by this policy; but, such unity can only be achieved by allowing all caucuses within the party to express their views freely and frankly in the knowledge that their points of view will receive meaningful consideration by the party at large. And this can only be accomplished by acknowledging the right to free expression and the right of party members to organize around their common positions.

We believe that the Waffle as such a caucus in exercising its right to organize and express freely its own views has made a positive contribution to policy debate within the NDP. A few examples of such a contribution would be instructive.

1. The Waffle has helped to rekindle a discussion of the meaning of socialism within the Party.

2. On the issue of foreign control the Waffle has prompted the Party to develop a much firmer policy on Canadian control of the economy.

3. On Quebec, the Waffle has urged the NDP to recognize Quebec's right to self-determination while inviting the people of Quebec to socialist cooperation. The fact that this has become the position of the Quebec section of the Party, accepted by the Federal Council, dramatizes the importance of this position in the debate on Quebec.

The Waffle researched the problem of energy resource industries and took a key part in the debate at the 1970 Convention which overwhelmingly called for recovery of Canadian control through public ownership. And, the Waffle through its organization helped to carry out part of the educational programme required by the convention decision.

5. Furthermore the Waffle has made a positive contribution to the party by its attempt to broaden the party's methods of political action to include the direct protesting of the Dunlop shutdown, direct support of the striking Texpack workers, and the organizing of public support behind the courageous stand of our MP's against the War Measures Act.

In view of these positive contributions no attempt should be made to purge or limit the position of the Waffle within the Party. Rather, we feel that the party should encourage all groups to organize around their common concerns and to make a genuine attempt to influence party policy. If there are a number of caucuses within the party (women, tenants, students, immigrants, and urban dwellers) with each having the opportunity to organize in order to express their positions in open debate, the NDP would become more critically aware of the problems facing Ontario and Canada, more vitally democratic, and more genuinely unified.

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#### AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

We recognize that some riding association members suspect that some union delegates to NDP conventions and councils are not responsible to those they represent. We also recognize that affiliated unions must govern their own democratic procedures. We feel that the party should strengthen its democratic nature by encouraging affiliates and riding associations towards a mutual examina-

tion of rank and file participation and the procedures for choosing delegates.

We would point out that the importance of the large money contributions made by some affiliated unions is at present substantially outweighed not only by the total moneys raised by the riding associations but also by the election workers recruited and trained by the riding associations and by the on going presence in the riding associations. We urge that the allotting of decision - making power within the N.D.P. reflect these facts.

It was felt by the committee that the suggestion that the Waffle become an affiliated organization could not be dealt with without knowing the views of the Waffle and its opponents.

#### RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP AND ADMINISTRATION

While party documents broadly define responsibilities of individual members they touch on the leadership only to explain the qualifications for gaining the positions. Those in the party hierarchy are placed so that their actions and decisions affect the party more than can those of any ordinary member.

The parliamentary caucus of the N.D.P. holds a special responsibility to the party membership to work towards developing public awareness, debate, and decision required for legislative and ideological changes called for by the party. Further, as public representatives of the party a caucus member can affect party creditability to a greater degree than can any individual member, especially in speaking on party policy.

Our MPP's must be bound by council and convention decisions with regard to party policy. While we must not become a monolithic entity we must be able to establish a policy which our representatives are to promote, and must be able to ensure that our decisions are carried out.

The party's administration holds a special position in that it must ensure that action is taken on policy decision. Hence, their meetings must be open to party members, and the members of the administration must be accountable to the party

level of discussion in the party.

Provincial Office must be required to inform the appropriate parties when decisions affecting them directly are made.

The party must assist all delegates in obtaining full information concerning the agendas for council meetings or conventions well in advance.

Provincial Office must provide assistance in publicizing activities of various organizations and internal caucuses related to the party.

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### DISSENT

The question of dissent is both a broad structural one and one having direct political implications within the party.

From the time of the last provincial council meeting to the present time we have seen an outright suppression of rebuttal to Stephen Lewis' speech:

- 1) the speech itself was extraordinary in its form and application,
- 2) all prior submitted resolutions were removed from the agenda while Gord Brigden's (Provincial Secretary) resolution alone was debated,
- 3) the "New Democrat" carried the text of Lewis' speech but did not allow for rebuttal, *As would NDP and New Englander speech*
- 4) the Executive Committee hearing these briefs consists of three anti-Waffle persons, and has not set procedures which allow for adequate debate.

All of this points to two items:

- 1) the party leadership has chosen to suppress debate on policy direction which it opposes,
- 2) the present party structures are not strong enough to prevent this.

We recommend the following:

- 1) the Waffle be given the facilities for communicating their view of the current situation to the full membership of the party, at least a month prior to the June provincial meeting,
- 2) the provincial executive be prohibited from making arbitrary modification to council and convention agendas once these agendas have been placed in delegates' hands,
- 3) the New Democrat should be placed under an editorial board elected by convention.

## CONCLUSION

Any move to place severe sanctions on the Waffle would be a blow to the whole NDP. The Waffle is not in itself a threat to the NDP. The "acrimony and bitterness" referred to in Stephen Lewis' speech arises not just from differences in ideology but from <sup>could affect people's rights to org</sup> the drawing up of the lines of a power struggle. ?

What makes Stephen Lewis' speech dangerous to the party is not merely its content, but its intemperate tone, <sup>instead invite further division, especially for</sup> inviting polarization and ignoring the <sup>in debate on future unity</sup> possibility of compromise. The party cannot withstand such an attack on its unity and there is no good reason why it should have to. We must emphasize the disastrous effects on the riding associations which would result from any move to silence the Waffle. We believe that a majority of the active members and Executive in our riding, most of whom are non-Wafflers, would be forced to the realization that the NDP is incapable of satisfying their political and structural requirements for a democratic and socialist party. This would effectively destroy years of organizing for the NDP, and must not be allowed to happen.

(Found in Feb. 1972)

1. The first step in developing the Waffle's response to the present crisis is to develop a clear perception of the political dynamic of the crisis and the probable balance of political power within the party. Only on this basis can our response be both rational and measured in terms of the political objectives which we set for ourselves in the immediate future.

2. As regards our objective. This can be no less than to remain within the NDP as an organized political tendency. Substantially, this means that we must fight to maintain the existing status quo. In other words a stalemate at this point should be defined from our point of view as a victory.

3. The first point that must be realized by all of us is that the position taken by the organized right in close alliance with Stephen Lewis, et al, is one that leaves no significant grounds for negotiation or compromise. Lewis' Saturday speech (which all wafflers should read carefully) makes this clear. The general tenor was uncompromising and demands no less than the dissolution of the Waffle and the relegation of the party's left to a condition of atomized and powerless individuals. In specific sections of the speech, Lewis makes his position clearer. In response to Bruce Kidd's Halton West speech which indicates a willingness on the part of the Waffle to give up a paid organizer and separate fund-raising activities so long as separate conventions (open to all NDPers) were permitted, Lewis replies:

"I appreciate the suggested concessions, but surely a separate convention begs the main question. All we will do is set up a formal public arena for the expression of views in conflict with those passed at our own NDP convention. What is the point of that - save total confusion in the electorate".

This clearly means that the right-Lewis faction are not even prepared to allow periodic organized statements of left views within the party, let alone ongoing presentation of such views.

Lewis' statements in the press following the Saturday speech simply reaffirm the intransigence of his position and make it clear that the move against the Waffle has federal party approval.

Bridgen's remarks in introducing the resolution on Saturday ~~at~~ were simply a less sophisticated expression of the same attitude: The debate goes on and on. It must come to an end and come to an end now.

We always knew that the time would come when a concerted move would be made against the Waffle. In spite of the divisions that will be caused within the party, the present leadership is fully aware that they must act at some point. To ~~delay~~ delay gains them nothing. To move against us now would likely be less divisive than to move against us a year from now when we will have gained greater support - especially within the trade unions.

4. We must not be misled by the fact that the weight of the right's attack is seemingly directed against the 'structures of the Waffle'. The attack on our structures is no more than a proxy for an attack on the organized power of our political ideas in as much as they have already heavily influenced rather broad sections of rank and file riding association people and to a lesser degree, some rank and file elements within the official trade union movement. Even more important to the party right wing is the potential power of our ideas to link up with a growing radicalization among organized workers. The trade union bureaucracy is fully aware of the social and political dynamic of the coming period. That leadership gained its position of strength during the last great upsurge of working class militancy in Canada and is

determined not to suffer the same defeat that its former opponents (the old craft union bureaucracy) experienced at its hands.

We must understand that the objection is not to the expression of differing views within the party. On page 25 of his speech, Lewis explained that: "Morty Shulman can get away with it, the MPPs can get away with it; various candidates can get away with it -- all as part of ... democratic debate."

But here is the rub:

"Jim Laxer or Mel Watkins or Steve Penner cannot get away with it. When Jim Laxer speaks...he speaks as leader of the Waffle within the NDP; as leader of an organized, recognized, structural, continuing opposition, and his views are therefore given...the prestige of a separate faction -- and with that authority there arises in the public mind inevitable confusion about what our policy really is, and where the devil we're going".

In this statement, as in his remarks about allowing separate conventions, Lewis' reference to the 'electorate' and the 'public' could just as easily be replaced by the phrase 'party rank and file'. In other words, the expression of political opinion is fine so long as it does not present a threat or potential treat to the hegemony of the present leadership of the party.

The unwillingness to accept organized oppositional groups within the NDP must be seen in power terms. No one would deny that the vestiges of the LSA-YS (and we all know that there are not a few of them) within the party is tolerated because it influences few members outside its ranks and periodic expulsions are effected by the party to maintain a state of quietism.

5. By looking to the reality of our activities during the past year and the response ~~il~~icited from the right, the political dimensions of the situation are made clear. So long as the Waffle attracted to itself those elements considered by the party leadership to be marginal - students and radical intelligentsia, we were ~~left~~ left in peace. Our big sin was our move into the labour movement (texpack, OFL and especially the Auto pact). Our attack on the Auto pact question challenged the effectiveness of letter writing campaigns, briefs, etc, and raised what for the brass is a nightmare - the idea of industrial action in defense of a clearly political demand. We also pointed out the contradiction between the interests of Canadian workers and their affiliation to so-called 'international' unions. Together these points hit home and even the limited response ~~il~~icited was political dynamite for the present union leadership. Thus the attack at this point and the desire to end the debate now.

6. The question of 'democratization' of the party must be correctly understood. The only realistic basis for any serious degree of democratization of the party would be a resurgence of rank and file militancy and movement...the very thing the attack on us is designed to prevent. Nothing short of a concerted move from below will, for example prevent the appointment of trade union 'delegates' to party meetings or the manipulation of elections to ensure that these delegates are 'safe'. This would be true regardless of any formal concessions which the right might be disposed to make in the interests of greater 'democracy' within the party. Any hope that we might entertain of democratizing the party as presently constituted requires the democratization of the trade unions. This will not, and cannot happen for some time, and certainly not during the next 3 or 4 months.

An alternative perspective would be to hope for a radical revision of the present mode of trade union affiliation, or in other words, a radical revision of the balance of power within the party between

(5)

the ridings and the unions. This too will not happen in any near future.

Therefore, any perspective that we now develop in response to the present situation, if it is to be realistic must assume at best the continuance of the party in its present form. The most we can achieve in this present struggle is to force a grudging acceptance by the right of the continued existence of an organized left within the party.

7. Another line of argument which has been pursued is the possibility of the Waffle reaching an accommodation with the so-called 'centre' of the party. On its face this is a comfortable argument. It is based on the statements of some party people, even some influential party people, to the effect that "we agree with many of your policy ideas, but we are troubled by your structure." The conclusion being drawn from this is that if the waffle somehow is able to attenuate or mask its structure we will gain the support of the centre and thereby save ourselves within the party.

While it is certainly true that the Waffle group has, in the past, been able to move many centre people to support us on policy questions at various times, we must realize that we have been able to do this only because of the organized nature of our political work within the NDP. The issue we are now facing is not a problem of mobilizing the centre on a policy question. The reality of the situation is that the centre people are precisely those who accept Lewis' argument against Waffle structures at their face value, without understanding the power elements in the struggle. This, in fact, is the major political characteristic of centre people - their inability to understand the question of power.

To the extent that centre people do come to terms with the question of power, they will realize that it is in their objective interest not to have an organized left within the party. The existence of such a left in fact precludes their playing an influential role in the party - as evidence by the debacle of the Broadbent leadership campaign. A symbolic expression of this was Ed Broadbent's complaint during the Quebec debate at the federal convention that because of the polarized nature of the debate there were only pro and con mikes and not a third mike for those wanting to come down decisively on both sides of the question.

It is no wonder therefore that the arguments of both Lewis and the centre on the question of the 'waffle structures' are essentially the same. This was clearly evidenced by the fact that at the last council meeting almost every centrist, voted with Lewis against the Waffle.

8. We must not confuse the rank and file party people with the centrists. The majority of the rank and file are as yet not fully aware of the issues being debated, and have therefore not yet aligned themselves with any of the existing factions. If they can be convinced that the success of the right wing in smashing the organized left within the party will seriously weaken the struggle for socialism, then we will win the support of many of them. Therefore we must be careful not to pose the issues in terms which are abstract to the rank and file - on purely organizational questions.

We have to link the organizational questions to the political issues which are the main concern of the rank and file. We can do that by talking about the record of the Waffle in giving leadership in two key areas which had been abandoned by the party leadership -- ideology and extra-parliamentary action. The waffle has had a significant impact on the politics of this country because it has addressed itself to key issues facing Canada -- American domination, the Quebec

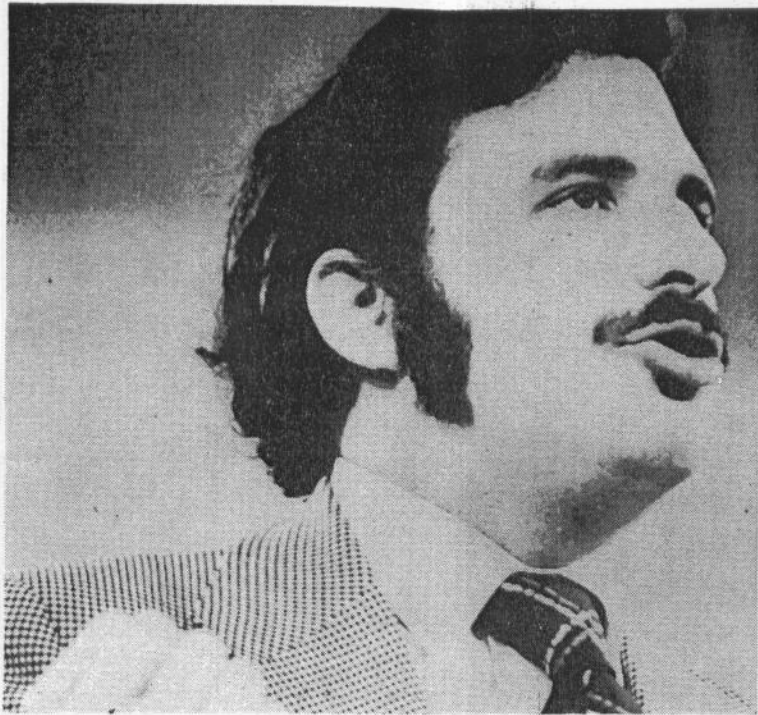
independence issue, and more recently the problems of business unionism. The Waffle arose not because the NDP was undemocratic but because it was not socialist, because the NDP was failing to give leadership on the crucial questions. That situation has not changed. When we won the support of 80% of the delegates to the last provincial convention for the energy resources resolution, the party leadership demonstrated that it will not accept decisions made by the party membership which it does not like.

The leadership clique opposes rank and file control because that could lead to a transformation of the party membership from a passive group of followers who are used only for fund-raising and election workers to a more politicized group of activists who would necessarily become increasingly dissatisfied with the present social democratic leadership. Rank and file control of the party must therefore not be posed as simply a question of democratic rights but as a much broader political question. It must be our task at this meeting to begin to concretize that question in a set of demands around which we can mobilize significant support from the party membership.

9. In conclusion we would warn against what should be perceived as one of the greatest threats to the furtherance of both the Waffle and to the advance of our broader struggle for independence and socialism. This is the threat of the Waffle disintegrating under the blows being inflicted on us. Throughout much of his speech and particularly in subsequent press statements Lewis made reference to his hopes that some of the more 'responsible' waffle leadership will stay in the party and that the 'wilder' elements will leave. With this in the background there is a danger of the Waffle disintegrating as a result of bickering over our internal differences. Our watchwords must now be unity through debate and disciplined acceptance of the decisions made in these debates by all our people whether they be rank and file ~~or~~ leadership.

If we do in fact manage to keep our forces together regardless of the outcome of this struggle and manage to mobilize a near majority of the riding associations to our point of view, we can make the expulsion of the Waffle so costly that the right will be deterred from taking the step. In effect we will then have succeeded in splitting the right wing including the Lewis group between those that are prepared to preside over the virtual wrecking of the riding association structures of the party and those who will not. This will be the stalemate to which we must work.

Jackie Rubin  
Joe Flexer



James Laxer regards the labor movement as an essential base for a Canadian socialist party.



David Lewis was supported by labor leaders who gained power from present affiliation.

# A cautious plan to revamp labor-NDP links

By STANLEY McDOWELL

OTTAWA

**L**ABOR MEMBERS of the Waffle group in the New Democratic Party are quietly exploring proposals that could lead to a radical rebuilding of the NDP's links with organized labor.

Still at the stage of informal talks among the Waffle's labor members, the proposals are aimed at changes in the way the NDP receives financial support from unions.

The exploration has been cautious, and with reason. Union funds are the financial mainstay of the national party. The great majority of trade union leaders active in the NDP are hostile to the Waffle already—and many of them owe their power in the party to the existing system of funding.

## Waffle on a tightrope

Apart from these complications, the Waffle is already on a tightrope in its dealings with the trade union movement. If the group wants to increase its power in the NDP, it must make inroads among organized labor. But if the Waffle leans too far in competing with NDP Leader David Lewis for the support of the unions—most of them Canadian branches of "international" organizations based in the United States—it runs the risk of losing or alienating its own nationalist wing, which regards international unions as agents of U.S. domination.

Under the present formula, members of union locals affiliated with the NDP pay the party 5 cents a month through a checkoff. Individuals may opt out but, for the sake of saving 60 cents a year, few bother even if they vote regularly for other political parties. One-eighth of union members in Canada now be-

long to affiliated locals.

Their contributions add up to a yearly total averaging \$80,000, the largest single component of NDP national office income which ranges around \$200,000.

Affiliation with the NDP is often made at a union local meeting attended by a fraction of the membership. "I've seen it decided by 15 people out of a local of several hundred," said one long-time trade union man, now a Waffle supporter. He and other union-based Wafflers see a need for two major changes in the system.

The decision to affiliate with the party should involve a majority of members of the union local, probably by taking the vote on a secret ballot which would take effect only if more than 50 per cent of the members voted. Affiliation should be reviewed by a vote of the local membership at least once every two years.

Individual members should have freedom of choice to support the party or not, probably by replacing the present opting-out formula with one requiring the NDP supporter to opt in.

Waffle supporters of a plan such as this concede that in the short run the changes could endanger the NDP's existing guaranteed annual labor income. But they believe that its long-haul effect would be to pull unions and party closer together, drawing union members into closer participation in the party and building voting support for socialist policies, and NDP candidates, among rank and file unionists.

This would happen, they argue, because the new system would require party spokesmen, and labor leaders who support the party, to campaign actively among the labor rank and file for support. And if the system provided

for contributions only from union members who were convinced the NDP was worth supporting, the present token payment of 5 cents a month could be increased substantially, making up, or more, for the loss from those who now contribute their nickel a month only because opting-out is more trouble than it is worth.

Citing clear evidence that many union members support the NDP through the check-off but vote for Liberals or Conservatives, one prominent Waffler said, "Losing their 60 cents a year would be nothing in comparison with losing their vote, as we are doing now."

Wafflers who believe labor holds the key to building an effective socialist party are acutely aware of the increasing tendency of rank-and-file union members to take more radical and militant stands than their leaders, rejecting settlements negotiated by their leaders.

They believe that the more militant Waffle approach will give their wing of the party, and of the labor movement, a head start if the dynamics of union-party relations are changed to require active campaigning for support from the rank and file.

"To mobilize for the battles ahead," a recent Waffle Labor Committee manifesto said, "we must breathe new life into the movement at the local level. The right wing has consolidated its hold by systematically removing power from the local level.

## Workers must decide

"Rank-and-file control must be achieved by mobilizing the locals to assert power there. Workers in the locals must make the final decisions about strikes and contracts. They

From p. 1

must have the right to recall bargaining committees. We must end the rule of bureaucracy that leads to non-involvement."

A right-wing bureaucracy, the manifesto charges, has made the official trade union movement into a buttress of private enterprise. "We offer and will fight for a complete socialist alternative to the policies of the right-wing establishment."

A recent working paper prepared by a group of trade unionists within the Waffle argues that "existing union affiliations have been effected between bureaucracies. The top leadership of unions and union locals have linked with the top leadership of the NDP, leaving most of the members of both organizations out in the cold."

This, the paper contends, accounts for much of the mutual resentment and mistrust felt between members of the party and members of the union movement.

"We often hear the charge that 'labor has let the NDP down' at election time, or that the NDP has let the union movement down in a crucial strike situation, and that affiliation did little to assist either of them. However, this failure results not from affiliation per se, but from the kind of tenuous affiliation that has been effected. The labor bureaucracy is powerless to deliver trade union votes en bloc because, with some notable exceptions, it fails to carry on the kind of continuing political education and promotional campaigns that are needed to enlist the support of its members and convert them into committed NDPers."

### Election-oriented

"For its part, the NDP bureaucracy is powerless to lead NDPers in direct supporting actions for trade union struggles, because they insist on running a strictly election-oriented operation in which union activism tends to be viewed as more of a liability than an asset."

Waffle labor supporters say their aim is to turn the NDP into a left-labor party rather than, as they see it, a party of middle-class academics and professionals awkwardly hitched to the professional hierarchy of organized labor.

But, ironically, the fiercest opposition to the changes they propose can be expected from the majority of those who now speak for labor in the NDP, the labor leaders who gain their power from the present system of affiliation and whose votes made up most of the first-ballot vote for David Lewis at last year's national leadership convention.

Already many labor spokesmen in the party are pushing for the expulsion of the Waffle—but appear to be running into opposition from constituency associations where union members are in a minority.

There could be friction within the Waffle as well. Some members who have been attracted to the NDP's radical wing primarily on nationalist, rather than socialist, grounds, already are concerned that the Waffle is backing away from its original commitment to Canadian rather than "international" unions.

Some Waffle members have close friends within the aggressively nationalist Canadian Liberation Movement which regards international unions as "agents of American imperialism."

This tension, between Wafflers who put nationalism first and those who, like leader James Laxer, have always regarded the labor movement as an essential base for a socialist party, broke into an angry confrontation in Ottawa before last week's visit by U.S. President Richard Nixon.

The Ottawa Waffle had committed itself to

a joint demonstration with the Canadian Liberation Movement against U.S. imperialism, over the objections of some members who felt the alliance would hamper Waffle recruiting within the labor movement, and add to the pressure from labor leaders to have the Waffle purged from the party.

Clear hints of disapproval from the Waffle national leadership, and a reversal of the original decision by the Ottawa Waffle, left bitter resentment among such Ottawa Wafflers as Robin Mathews, Carleton University English professor and crusader against U.S. strength on the faculties of Canadian universities, and his wife Esther, a co-chairman of the joint committee with the CLM.

Mrs. Mathews accused Mr. Laxer of forsaking the principles of the Waffle to engage in "a leadership contest with David Lewis."

Among some middle-class members of the Waffle, and of the NDP generally, there is a tendency to judge organized labor by the face it wears at NDP conventions: a heavy, solid phalanx of professional labor chiefs that stands ready to give the axe to every attempt by the left to deal with foreign economic power, the built-in social bias against women, and the corporate economic system.

Such evidence as the recent Canadian Labor Congress brief to the Cabinet, in which women received not even a mention, reinforce this view.

This school of thought is attracted by the ideal of "Canadian unions for Canadian workers" because it views the existing labor movement as an essentially reactionary force. And it does not believe that the weakening of organized labor as a social force in Canada is too serious a risk to run.

### Danger in policy

Labor leaders within the Waffle share the desire for Canadian unions. But they believe that asking the unions to cut themselves adrift from foreign alliances, while multinational corporations remain intact, would be like asking the workers to disarm unilaterally.

Two years ago, in a discussion of the New Left in Canada, James Laxer argued that a socialist party must tap the vein of nationalist sentiment in Canada or remain forever a fringe movement.

The viability of an alliance of nationalism and socialism has always been a subject of fierce debate.

The spokesmen for labor in Mr. Laxer's own radical wing of the NDP are now working toward a closer integration of the Waffle, and the NDP, with the rank and file trade union movement, at the price of giving secondary priority to the goal of exclusively national unions.

Their success or failure in winning the support of the nationalist, middle-class school among their fellow Wafflers will be one test of the theory that nationalism and socialism, traditionally regarded as opposing forces, can pull together in double harness.

Ontario Waffle  
Box 339  
Station E  
Toronto, Ontario

24 April 1972

Dear Waffler,

It has now been five weeks since the ONDP Provincial Council met to consider the Hamilton Mountain resolution pertaining to the Waffle. The outcome of that meeting is generally known, namely that Stephen Lewis, in his hour long leader's speech, aligned himself squarely with unprogressive elements in the party and virtually announced that the end had come for the Waffle. That same council passed a motion referring the Hamilton Mountain resolution (along with all others opposed to it) and instead charged the party executive with the preparation of a document which would deal with the Waffle.

That executive has now met and is dealing with the Waffle through a 3-man committee which will draft a statement. The committee consists of John Brewin, Gerald Caplan and Gordon Vichert. Acting on a motion from Wafflers on the executive, they agreed to organize hearings in the province to allow New Democrats to state views. Most of these meetings have now taken place but the final one is in Toronto on April 27 in the NDP Caucus Room, Queen's Park at 7:30. It should be noted that this meeting is open to any NDP'er, so if you're interested you may attend.

Since the Council meetings, Wafflers across the province have been meeting locally to discuss the crisis within the Party. Indeed, rank and file NDP'ers are now beginning to take a keen, analytical look at not just the Waffle but the structure and nature of the NDP itself. The Ont. Waffle Steering Committee met the week-end following the Prov. Council and drew up a plan of action. Although many of you may already know the decisions made by that Committee, we felt that it might be useful to them out and give you a progress report to date.

First, it was the overwhelming and unequivocal feeling that the Waffle should remain as an organized group within the party and that it would fight openly and as hard as it could to do so. From the feedback we've been receiving, Wafflers across the province are in full agreement. Accordingly, the following resolutions were passed:

1. A major document would be prepared in reply to Stephen Lewis' speech. This paper of approximately 8,000 words would answer specific charges made, would set out clearly the ideological nature of the Waffle in relation to the present political situation in Canada and in relation to other organized tendencies within the NDP. And it would deal with the question of structures...the structures of both the Waffle and of the NDP. A request would be made to the editor of the NEW DEMOCRAT for permission to publish this in the paper.

This document is now under completion by the Communications Cmte. No reply has been received from the party in response to our written request. Instead the current NEW DEMOCRAT contains the entire text of Lewis' speech with no reply from the Waffle of any kind. Finances permitting, we now hope to distribute our document as widely as possible to New Democrats throughout the province. It will be presented formally to the ONDP at that hearing in Toronto on April 27.

2. A short brief would be presented to the ONDP executive by Wafflers on the executive. This deals with structural changes advocated by the Waffle to assist in the democratization of the party. This will also be submitted to the Thursday hearings. A copy is enclosed. Let us know your reactions.

3. The Waffle would attempt to organize a series of open meetings with riding associations in order to communicate our own position and to get feedback from rank and file NDP'ers on how they feel about the Waffle. A number of ridings have already begun this process themselves. (For example, the Brant NDP is sponsoring a conference in Paris, Ont., Sat. May 6 in Paris, Ont. Full details from Elfrieda Neumann, 6 Linden Ave. Brantford)

Well, what can individual Wafflers do? Act collectively is probably the best response. If you haven't been at a riding meeting lately, find out when the next one is...phone the executive in your area and ask. If you're an activist in your association try and have the whole issue debated at a general meeting. The Waffle is anxious for as free and open a discussion as possible throughout the province and if your riding would like a Waffle spokesperson, we're willing and able to supply speakers.


If there is a local Waffle group in your area, make certain to attend their meetings. We're asking local groups to discuss all aspects as thoroughly as possible and to send feedback to the communications committee. Many of you who receive Waffle literature are not "activists" but "interested and sympathetic observers". Perhaps now's the time for you to re-assess your position and decide that a more active commitment to the NDP and the Waffle is appropriate for you. There is no question that the future of the independence movement and the socialist movement will be seriously affected by events over the next few months. The following is a list of Waffle contacts in various spots throughout the province:

Ottawa - Esther Mathews - 232-6382  
West Toronto - Mike Ornstein - 536-3353  
East Toronto - Julia Bass - 964-1416  
North Toronto - Corileen North - 429-1008  
Hamilton - Dave Middleton - 525-2255  
Brantford - Dave Neumann - 759-7885  
St. Catharines - Henry Dorst - 682-4440  
London - Mary Campbell - 438-0435  
Windsor - Mike Taylor - 728-2892 (Belle River)  
Thunder Bay - Harvey Linetsky - 344-9548

But alas, the most critical issue at the moment is FINANCES!..... Bankrolling a socialist movement in the best of times is no easy job. In this crisis it's monumental. Right now, the Waffle is just not in a financial position to mail out the major document it's preparing on the Waffle and the NDP. IT'S TIME FOR ALL OF US TO GIVE DOLLAR SUPPORT AS WELL AS MORAL AND POLITICAL SUPPORT. Remember all those appeals for healthy monthly contributions according to income? Well, how about it? Cheques should be payable to "Ontario Waffle", P.O. Box 339, Station E, Toronto. For those who can't give substantially or just want to receive our literature, you should be aware that the last Ontario Waffle Conference passed a resolution asking that all Wafflers who have not made a donation in 1972 be asked to contribute a minimum of \$5.00 as a yearly mailing maintenance fee. We stress minimum, but if that's all you've got, send it in, in post-dated cheques if necessary. Unless funds are received soon, we may not be able to send you our big brief.

Finally, let us know what you're thinking...either through your local group or write us directly. We are building a socialist movement and it's important that we share ideas and feelings with each other and with all those who want a new society.

For Independence and Socialism,

  
Kelly Crichton  
for the Communications Sub-Committee

(over)

*Hans Modlich*

Brief  
to be presented to  
the Vichert Committee on Structures Within the Party  
by  
the Beaches-Woodbine Executive Board  
April 27, 1972

1. In the growing economic crisis, Canada desperately needs socialist leadership. That vital leadership has not been forthcoming from the NDP.

Canada today is in crisis. American corporate capitalism is the major force shaping our society and as American capitalism falters--drained by a barbarous, imperialistic war in south-east Asia and the ego-trip to the moon, torn by the legacy of centuries of racism, and threatened by tough, new competition from capitalist Europe and Japan--it exacts a tougher tribute from Canada: growing unemployment, an acceleration of the outflow of our natural resources, and the reduction of the ability of the Canadian state to ameliorate inequalities of income and opportunity. It's a familiar story. Our maneuverability in the area of monetary policy is so closely restricted by the U.S. federal reserve system that we import American war-fueled inflation and fight it by putting Canadians out of work. Under pressure from the U.S. Treasury, American branch-plants send work orders back to their head offices and Canadian workers are laid off. When the U.S. juggernaut needs more oil and gas, we merrily give it to them without first considering our own industrial and consumer needs--or the threat to the already besieged environment. And influential American branch-plants like Imperial Oil use election contributions to persuade Canadian governments to raise regressive taxes and cut back on essential public expenditures so that they can continue their own private taxation schemes unchallenged.

No doubt the NDP is familiar with these problems-- after all, the founding convention in 1961 called for checks on the advance of U.S. investment in Canada. But in the face of the growing crisis, the Party has handled the independence question so timidly that the political initiative has floated away to the Committee for an Independent (Capitalist) Canada and the very group that has most facilitated the U.S. takeover, the Liberal Party. At a time when the Canadian people are urgently seeking answers, the federal leader of the NDP equivocates, as he did in a recent educational meeting in our own riding, on the extent of U.S. imperialism in Canada. One year ago, after a nationally televised debate at the federal convention, the Party rejected a resolution calling for new, tougher measures to regain control of the Canadian economy. But while the Party stands still, others are responding to the growing anger of Canadians. During the recent provincial election in Ontario, when the effect of the new Nixonomics was becoming painfully clear, it was Liberal Leader Robert Nixon--not Stephen Lewis--who called for, no matter how opportunistically, ~~the~~ the public ownership of branch-plants that shut down in response to directives from Washington. Where is the NDP's leadership?

## 2. The NDP is isolating itself from its natural allies.

Partly as a result of Canada's position within the American Empire, and partly as a result of other factors, several social forces have sprung up within Canada that are potential allies in the struggle for independence and socialism. Chief of these is the nationalist movement in Quebec, which has

become increasingly more class-oriented as a result of Anglo-American capitalism's intensifying war against Quebec labour. Witness the general strike! The NDP and the Quebec left have many enemies in common: American imperialism, Canadian-Canadien capitalism, and a federal constitution that handcuffs the Quebec nation while so fragmenting the state in English Canada that American capital can easily play off one government against another. Ideally, then, the NDP and the Quebec left should make common cause. But instead, the NDP is irrelevant in Quebec: it refuses to acknowledge the right of national self-determination and to challenge fundamentally the existing federal constitutional arrangements and it has discouraged the development of indigenous radical Quebecois leadership. What could be the most productive alliance for the continuance of an alternative to the American colossus in North America is not even on the Party's agenda.

Other oppressed groups in Canada have begun to fight for their own self-determination. Not only women, but the native peoples, tenants, students, and welfare recipients have begun to organize against their own subordination and powerlessness. While many NDPers recognize the importance of such groups and work within them, too often the leadership disassociates itself from militant demands because of possible electoral "embarrassment" and only rarely does it give them tangible assistance. In Ontario, for example, a convention resolution calling for the hiring of a community action organizer has still to be implemented. If this trend continues, the Party's political relevance will fade even more.

3. The frightening inadequacy of the NDP leadership in the face of these social pressures led to the creation of the Waffle.

The Waffle group within the NDP didn't fall from the sky. It was part of the overall radicalization of Canadian society. It was initiated by NDP members who had become frustrated with the leaderless drift of the Party and it grew in strength because it touched responsive chords in thousands of other NDPers. If the Waffle could be said to have five clear political goals, each of these was formulated in response to failings in the Party leadership:

i The Waffle's campaign to make an independent, socialist Canada the paramount political demand of the NDP was in direct response to the Party leadership's preference for bureaucratic tinkering ("functional socialism") as a solution to American imperialism.

ii The Waffle's recognition of Quebec's right of national self-determination was an attempt to reverse the Party's traditional insensitivity to Quebec and to create in the NDP the necessary pre-conditions for an alliance with Quebec socialists.

iii The Waffle's complete endorsement of women's liberation was an attempt to end widespread sexism within the NDP to prepare the basis for an alliance between the Party and that critical movement.

iv The Waffle's advocacy of extra-parliamentary activity came in response to the Party's preoccupation with parliamentary and electoral politics and its resulting isolation from growing social dissent that had become suspicious of electoral politics.

y The Waffle's emphasis on class-defined policies grew out of not only its recognition of the primary role of the working class in the struggle for socialism but also in opposition to the liberal, homogenising assumptions and of the Party leadership in recent years.

But within the NDP, the Waffle has been more than critical of the Party leadership, although that criticism seems to be all that the leadership will acknowledge. The Waffle has provided an alternative analysis of the growing economic crisis in Canada--its "paranoic" predictions about Canadian consequences from the growing problems of American capitalism have, unfortunately, proven all too true--and it has set an example for extra-parliamentary activity by its campaigns against the energy sell-out, the War Measures Act, the auto pact renegotiations, and so on. The Party has been revitalized and restrengthened as a result of these activities. The evidence from our own riding is clear: our best new workers joined the association because the Waffle made the Party relevant to their concerns and gave it a clear alternative to the Liberals. But the prospects of a surge of the Waffle has brought several threatened resignations and reluctant membership renewals. For all these reasons, our own riding recently passed a motion calling for the right of the Waffle to exist within the NDP. That will be one of the recommendations of this paper.

We believe the sentiment in other riding associations in Ontario is not markedly different. ~~Before~~ One year ago, Canadian Dimension magazine conducted a survey of ~~the~~ ~~the~~

NDPers. In response to the question, "What is your understanding of the Waffle group? Is it a good thing or a bad thing?", 65 per cent of non-Wafflers replied that the Waffle was good for the Party, only 25 per cent said it was bad, and 11 per cent expressed mixed feelings. As long as the Waffle provides creative socialist leadership within the Party, its support will continue to grow, as evidenced by:

- . the number of Wafflers who have and will represent the Party in provincial and federal elections
- . the number of Waffle-like resolutions that were submitted to the 1970 provincial and 1971 federal conventions by individual riding associations and the support they received
- . the number of riding resolutions supporting the right of the Waffle to exist that were presented to the March 1972 meeting of provincial council.

4. The absence of new socialist alternatives within the NDP has resulted from the interaction of the existing power blocs within the Party.

In addition to the Waffle, there are at least four distinct groupings within the Party. These are:

i The trade union movement: not as monolithic and boss-controlled as the Toronto Star and Ontario high-school history books would have us believe, but certainly the most cohesive and best-disciplined bloc within the Party. It contributes the major portion of NDP funds, but often ties these contributions to specific projects, such as election spending and special organizers. (Two "NDP" organizers in Ontario are paid and directed by the Steelworkers, for example.) The trade union movement has shown itself least able to innovate in the present economic crisis: collective bargaining,

no matter how critical a tool, is powerless in the face of mass layoffs; better severance payments are really no answer to unemployment. As a result of its inability to change its strategy and tactics, the trade union bloc is the most conservative group within the Party today.

ii The parliamentary caucus. Like the trade union movement, it has its own research staff, so in addition to the prestige it enjoys as the elected voice of the Party, it often has the advantage of the best information. The caucus tends to be a conservative force in the Party. In the first place, the "gentlemanly" legislative atmosphere and the emphasis on the niceties of debate ("the government must rule") both tend to protect the caucus from the necessity of direct action. Secondly, the necessity to serve as constituency ombudsman reinforces the legislative preoccupation with the governmental bureaucracy and it leaves the member with very little time for real political work. Finally, the commonly accepted "obligation" to represent all interests in a constituency leads members to substitute liberal assumptions for class ones. There are certainly exceptions to this process and the process is not inevitable. But the pressures are very strong.

iii The provincial office: the day-to-day arm of the Party, responsible to a small committee of the executive, it enjoys its considerable power because it has the advantage of a full-time interest, a monopoly of party communications, and control of the agenda at council and executive meetings. Like all bureaucracies, it shrinks from risk, especially electoral risk. As a result, it has perfected controversy-free campaigning and a system of local supervision to ensure that not too many ridings

go against the grain.

y The constituencies. Whatever power the ridings enjoy is by virtue of their ability to get out election workers and renew memberships, functions the Party cannot do without. Their weakness as a group stems from their diversity and their lack of funds and full-time staff.

It is ludicrous that the Waffle should be attacked for being an organized force when there are three <sup>(GU Party staffers)</sup> <sup>(GU Party staffers)</sup> so powerfully organized blocs already operating within the <sup>(Cavcus MPP)</sup> <sup>(Cavcus MPP)</sup> Party. The point here is that the interaction of ~~these~~ <sup>these three</sup> established power blocs, all with conservative tendencies, has produced a Party that is timid and confused, unable to distinguish between liberal and working-class interests, and afraid of open debate. The NDP's bankruptcy was most clearly revealed in the 1971 election, when its carefully orchestrated appeal to many interest groups failed miserably. Now <sup>more</sup> than ever the Party needs new socialist alternatives. Despite a good start during the post-mortem discussions at the 1971 December Provincial Council meeting, the leadership has failed to follow through on such necessary re-examination. Instead, it is intent upon destroying the only organized force from which new directions are likely to come.

5. The right to push for socialist alternatives underscores the right for democratic party debate.

Effective debate cannot occur within the atmosphere of suspicion and hostility created by Stephen Lewis' vicious attack on the Waffle. The witch-hunt must be called off. It also goes without saying that effective debate requires the right to organize, ~~to~~ send out printed information, ~~to~~ hire an

organizer, call press conferences, raise funds, and so on. These rights are not denied other groups within the Party. They should not be denied the Waffle. The Waffle has every right to exist within the NDP.

6. The responsibilities of leadership in a democratic socialist party are as follows:

- i to facilitate the examination of socialist strategies
- ii to ensure that policy conclusions (strategy, policy) resulting from democratic debate are fully executed
- iii to rally party members around Party actions at key times, thus giving political direction to the Party

The present leadership has abdicated at least the first two of these responsibilities. i Instead of facilitating debate, it has tried to destroy one participant in the debate by delivering a distorted attack on that group and not even permitting it the elementary right of self-defence. ii ~~While the leadership must inevitably interpret democratically determined convention decisions as circumstances change and new conditions arise, the Lewis leadership has taken for itself the right to change or disregard these decisions arbitrarily. Within moments after being elected leader, for example, Stephen Lewis personally nullified the~~ <sup>1971</sup> convention resolution on the public ownership of energy resource industries.

The whole question of the Waffle is a political question that must be dealt with the membership at convention. Instead, the leadership has chosen to deal with it at the executive level. It can only be concluded, then, that the leadership is fighting the Waffle on structural grounds to cover up its failure to lead the search for new socialist directions.

7. The responsibility of membership in a democratic socialist party is to participate fully in the debate on socialist alternatives and to shape the party politically.

## 8. Summary

In the growing economic crisis, Canada desperately needs socialist leadership. That vital leadership has not been forthcoming from the NDP. Moreover, the NDP is isolating itself from its natural allies. The Party's inadequacy on both counts led to the creation of the Waffle.

Organized groupings already exist within the Party. The Waffle differs only in that it represents a new political direction that runs counter to the conservative tendencies of the already established party groupings. The question of the Waffle is therefore a political question that should be decided by the full membership at convention. But because the leadership is afraid to ~~take~~ <sup>lead</sup> the political debate on new socialist directions for the Party, it has chosen to move against the Waffle on administrative grounds. Clearly this is not acceptable to the executive of Beaches-Woodbine.

## 9. Recommendations:

We therefore recommend:

1. That the provincial executive cease its suicidal purge of the Waffle and recommend to the next provincial convention that the Waffle and other dissenting groups have the right to exist.

2. That the responsibilities of leadership and membership as we have outlined them be set out in the constitution.

3. That the next provincial convention be organized for the purpose of developing new socialist strategies for the present crisis from the widest possible range of options and that the executive play a leading role in facilitating that debate.

## Recommendations for Constitutional Amendments

The following provisions or statements should be added to the provincial constitution:

1. The responsibilities of the NDP leadership are as follows:

- i to facilitate the examination of socialist strategies
- ii to ensure that policy conclusions (strategy, policy) resulting from democratic debate are fully executed
- iii to rally party members around Party actions at key times, thus giving political direction to the Party

2. The responsibilities of membership are to participate fully in the debate on socialist alternatives and to shape the party politically.

3. All delegates to provincial, federal, or municipal conventions be i fully paid up members of the riding or affiliated organization which they are representing and ii elected as delegates at a general membership meeting of the riding or affiliated organization that is sending the delegate.

(Found in April 1972)

## FOR A DYNAMIC AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Barely a year ago hundreds of thousands across the country were glued to their TV sets during the Federal Leadership convention. Viewers gained the impression that ours is indeed a very vigorous and relevant party ready to cope with the changing situation confronting the country as borne out by Nixon's tough economic measures of only a few months later. Public opinion polls verified that the party was gaining credence as a serious political movement which arrived at its policies at open conventions through frank debate among the contenders for party leadership.

In contrast to this, Stephen Lewis' March 18th speech to the ONDP provincial council threatens to deal a severe setback to this ongoing and unfolding process of evaluation and discussion inside the party - a process which is but a reflection of the growing unease in society at large and of growing economic hardship felt by millions of Canadians.

Stephen Lewis' speech comes on the eve of an impending federal election requiring unity in action by all sections of the party - and in addition falls within half a year of the Oct. 71 provincial election, the results of which are still an enigma to wide layers inside the party, results which the leadership itself has stated require a full reexamination of past strategy.

Rather than seizing the opportunity, then, to launch into a full debate in the ONDP, to challenge the party with the responsibility of grappling with these problems which face us at the upcoming convention, the leadership has chosen instead to narrow the options and in effect to adjourn the debate, only to launch an organizational attack on the Waffle, the key proponents of an alternate course for the party.

A sordid tale of disloyalty, disruption and disunity, more often based on a one-sided and distorted presentation of the Waffle's position, has been placed before the party - without even according the Waffle the elementary opportunity to respond in the party press or at the council meeting itself. In many ways this seems typical of the new mood of suspicion and hostility, of intolerance of dissenting viewpoints which is engendered by the tone set by the leadership.

What has been up to now surely one of the most exciting and innovative experiences in the party's 10 years - of the party - the debate initiated by the emergence of the Waffle as a broadly based caucus for an independent socialist Canada - has now been ruled out of order. The charge of being a party within a party used against the Waffle is nothing new, it has been used against the party's left wing on previous occasions in efforts to declare minority viewpoints out of bounds and to undermine their ability to caucus freely and openly.

While the leadership has stated it does not wish to have full scale purge at this time it hopes to create a situation where a purge will no longer be necessary since its adversaries will have been dislodged as a cohesive caucus and will be dispersed into a loose smattering of dissenting intellectuals.

It is indisputable that our party is composed of many diverse groups with special interests of their own, power blocks if you will- ranging from the parliamentary caucus, the party staffers, the trade-union officials and the riding associations. Some of these groups have altogether disproportionate powers. The parliamentary caucus by virtue of being in the public spot light tends to be the day to day policy maker. Pressures such as the establishment press or the parliamentary routine with all its trappings and decorum tend to erode the more militant resolve of the party rank and file. Often as in the case of the Oct. 70 convention decision on public ownership of resource industries the parliamentary leadership has overruled the convention decision. To consistently defend the right of the party as a whole means to oppose this kind of concentration of power. The charge of being a self-acting "party within a party" could therefore just as well be applied to the parliamentary caucus.

Surely one as adept in the art of rallying the diverse sectors in the party as is Stephen Lewis, must recognize the key importance of the right to organize independently, to articulate and communicate statements of policy, to caucus and rally like-minded individuals to project an alternate program, strategy and leadership. Why then is the leadership about to curtail this right to its opposition?

We are issuing this statement to all concerned about party democracy, because in our opinion the leadership is overstepping its mandate and responsibilities before the party. The leadership does not have the right to define what is and what is not within the bounds of this movement. Only the party as a whole can do that and not in an atmosphere of hostility and threatened exclusion of dissent.

We feel that the party is at a key juncture in its development. We are facing real challenges to analyze and work out a program to preserve our independence from foreign control. Plants are being shut down, record unemployment is going hand in hand with continuing inflation in a systematic onslaught by corporations-domestic and foreign-on our hard fought standard of living. Widespread questioning of roles pervades our society - most notably the movement for women's liberation - to demand greater control over their lives. In our sister provinces the party has been placed into office and is confronted with the challenge of implementing its program over the concerted opposition of the financial capitals across the continent. We have to examine our election strategy, how to overcome the multi-million dollar media campaigns waged against us, how to make the party an ongoing organization that can link up with community organizations from tenants' groups to women's groups to help them generalize and unite them with a program for change of the whole system.

Last but not least the party can be revitalized internally by developing our membership our press, by deepening the process of discussion and education, and even investigating ways and means of making the party structures more democratic.

On many of these issues the debate within the party has hardly begun, let alone come to any conclusive common understanding. We feel that the course embarked upon by the ONDP leadership does not help to further any of these crucial tasks facing the party rather it tends in a direction of a more rigid and ossified climate within the party. We reject the leadership's attempt to narrow down the scope of the options before the party. The party must remain open to any views rooted in the interests of the working people of Canada. It must remain open-ended in order to be relevant, to adapt to

the changing reality and in so doing fulfil its obligations of providing leadership to Canada's working people. We urge other ridings affiliated organizations and concerned individuals in the party to join us as we express our opposition to the course projected at the March 18 Provincial Council meeting and also to reaffirm the right of groups within the party to caucus and organize around minority viewpoints so that the party as a whole can exercise its rights to consider and evaluate alternative strategies, programs and leaderships and, lastly, to do this at properly conducted conventions.

individuals or

(Found in April 1972  
- page 4 missing)  
(edited by Gord Doctorow? - ed.)

To follow up Stewen Lewis's March 18th attack on the Walle the ONDP

leadership at its April 8th Executive meeting struck off a three man commission

consisting of John Brewin, Jerry Caplan and Gordon Vichert,  
to travel the province ostensibly to hear out the party ranks before

drawing X up a statement outlining membership responsibilities and

obligations. On April 27th the concluding meeting of a series of lightning

which included stops in  
meetings X/Thunder Bay, Sudbury Ottawa and London, was held in Toronto.

The hearing had to be shifted at the last moment from a 60 seat caucus

room in the Legislature, to contain the overflow crowd of over 250

party mostly riding activistsXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX who sat through

44 submissions XXXXXXXXXXXX in a marathon five hour XXXXXXXX session.

While the commission's terms of reference XXXXXXXX - and composition -

were already biased in favor of the party brass by XXXXXXXX limiting the  
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXX  
the scope of XXXXXXXX its examination of XXXX relationships within the

party to the role of individualXXXX members, not groups or caucuses and their

rights vis a vis the party establishment, the Toronto hearing ranged

XXXXXXXXXXXX provided a far reaching examination (and an unequivocal XXXXXXXX  
of party structures and policies  
resulted

rebuttal to the leaderships XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX. Submissions ranged 4:1

for  
in favor of the Waffle and the continuing of the debate within the party.

Typical of the feeling of the meeting was the president of High Park riding, the leading riding in memberships, who pointed out how the emergence of the Waiffl had revitalized the work of the party in a core working class riding. The High Park membership had just endorsed a brief presented to the hearing by Bruce Kidd from Beaches Woodbine which exposed the inadequacy of the Lewis leadership in dealing with the current crisis on a class defined basis, instead of the liberal assumptions of the leadership.

"Now more than ever, the Party needs new socialist alternatives. Despite a good start during the post mortem discussion at (of the Oct '71 provincial election)... the leadership has failed to follow through on such necessary re-examination. Instead, it is intent upon destroying the only organized force from which new directions are likely to come."

The ~~summary~~ brief presented along with a motion of the St. Georges membership calling for a halt of the anti- Waffle campaign, went on to charge the Lewis leadership with overstepping its mandate and responsibility to the party by stifling the debate and limiting the scope of options before the ~~NDP~~ party.

..... 3

The paper ~~was~~ concluded by calling on other ridings <sup>to</sup>/reaffirm the right of individuals and groups within the party to caucus and organize around minority viewpoints " so that the party as a whole can exercise its rights to consider and evaluate alternative strategies, programs and leadership, and lastly to do this at properly conducted conventions."

The key presentation of the meeting was Melville Watkins summary of to Lewis by some ~~xxx~~ <sup>over 10,000</sup> ~~more~~ to a 10,000 word response/~~the~~ the Ontario Waffle, 20,000 copies of which ~~were~~ be circulated ~~to~~ to the party membership.

Watkins rejected the litany of charges, innuendos and distortions, saying that the list of Waffle activities contained nothing that a leadership responsive to the needs of the party and the current radicalization could not have undertaken. The debate of ideology ~~is not~~ can not be separated into a debate of party structure since no idea can exist without a form of expression. He went on to state that the critical issue separating the Waffle from the party establishment was the issue of public ownership, a long standing issue of debate ~~in~~ in the social democratic movement, an issue which the Waffle was trying to combine with the demands for workers control as a basic strategy for gaining real power - in contrast to the naive assumptions of the leaderships "functional socialism".

He rejected charges that the Waffle was anti union; instead the Waffle was attempting to strengthen the ties between <sup>the</sup> trade union rank and file, rather than the present "wedding of bureaucracies". The Waffle, Watkins concluded, will fight for the continuation of the debate, and will fight to remain as <sup>left (left)</sup> an organized caucus, which it is now, until it will win over the party to its side -- a day he predicted would surely come.

In contrast to the strong support for ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Watkins, the dozen or so anti-Waffle submissions received a more subdued response. In the main they were submitted by trade union staffers and a handful of inveterate red-baiters who rarely departed from the Lewis script. Louis Linkinsky a perennial Toronto Area Labour Councillor, firmly committed to the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ CO-72 front for the Liberal party in the upcoming municipal elections, was met with ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>derision</sup> derision when he suggested that one ~~simplex~~ way of solving the problem of dissent within the party, would be for dissidents simply not renewing their membership cards -~~XXXXXX~~.

On balance <sup>and as for our windows</sup> what emerged ~~clearly~~ from the Toronto hearings and other meetings, for which activists had even less time to prepare themselves, like the one in Sudbury,

⊗ it clearly showed

~~was the clear indication~~ just how little support the leaderships attack has  
~~clear~~

among the vast majority of active rank and file members of the party

The Vichert commission hearings provided just a glimpse of what ~~can and must~~  
 happens *who the party rank and file are mobilized and given a voice,*  
 and what ~~can~~ be done to halt the well-orchestrated behind-the-scenes attack of the leaders

~~grass roots are~~  
 ship, ~~what the party rank and file are mobilized and given a voice.~~

similar open *wide-* the Waffle must spearhead the campaign  
 By organizing/meetings to defend democracy in the party and ~~xx~~ the essential

right to caucus and debate alternative strategy ~~xx~~ and leadership ~~for the~~

~~party~~ the Lewis offensive ~~can be~~ halted and reversed *the Lewis offensive,*

# Watkins says foreign ownership

★ Mel Watkins, a University of Toronto economist and leader of the Waffle faction of the New Democratic Party, says Ottawa's new policy on foreign investment demonstrates a colonial mentality on the part of Canadian leaders. Following is Watkins' commentary on the policy announced Tuesday by Revenue Minister Herb Gray:



MEL WATKINS

"Less than anyone imagined"

By MEL WATKINS

A few weeks ago Prime Minister Trudeau was quoted as saying that many Canadians would be disappointed when they finally saw the government's long-awaited foreign ownership policy. He should have gone on to say that the foreign-based corporations wouldn't be. Then we'd have guessed that the new policy was even less than anyone imagined—so slight indeed that the government was to call it not a foreign ownership policy but a foreign takeover review policy. And so conciliatory to the big companies that they can now drop the rumored tactic of refusing to bankroll the Liberals this time round.

My own feeling, sitting in the galleries of the House of Commons on Tuesday as Revenue Minister Gray read out his bland statement, was less disappointment than anger. The country is falling apart and we are compelled to listen to this nonsense.

In 1967 the Pearson government appointed a task force that first suggested a special agency to oversee the activities of foreign-based corporations. It was hardly a radical proposal; it would leave the multi-national corporation be, but get more benefit for the Canadian people. The Trudeau government said more study was needed and created another task force, this time of civil servants. After five years, we were served up a proposal that could have been dreamed up Monday morning and finalized by Friday afternoon of the same

... this minuscule pro-

posal yet the law. Trudeau's ministers have a habit of introducing legislation and then letting the corporations whittle it away to slivers. This may, of course, not be the fate of this bill, for it is already so slight that it presumably can be safely passed.

It's old hat that the Liberal party is the pawn of big business in this country, but there's a subtlety that is not always appreciated. Big business in Canada, in the nature of the case, means foreign-based companies. That is what the Liberal party represents, and hence we have legislation that creates a minor inconvenience for any multi-national corporation not already here, while leaving those with established subsidiaries unaffected, and offers not a crumb to independent Canadian businesses, present or future. My point is not that we should, as Premier Davis is saying now, subsidize Canadian companies. There's more than enough giveaways to corporations already. But it is surely perversity to discriminate in favor of the multi-national corporation.

So bad is this non-policy that the question must be put as to why we got anything at all. Presumably it's a gesture, a "small bone for the hungry nationalists," a crude political gimmick. If you think the language too strong, just remind yourself that the review policy will be administered by that very department (Industry, Trade and Commerce) that is otherwise engaged in greasing the skids down which the multi-national corporations have poured in for decades.

What might we reasonably have asked any government to do that was even half-way serious about foreign ownership?

1. Implement the Gray report in full by establishing a screening mechanism to so regulate the activities of all foreign-owned firms that Canadians get more benefits and bear less costs. Reviewing takeovers alone not only fails to touch the existing foreign-owned firms, but can be circumvented by setting up new subsidiaries.

The authors of the Gray report know this and warn the government that a policy on takeovers, in isolation from the rest of their package, deals with only a fraction of the problem and is unlikely to deal effectively even with that. The government simply blithely ignores that advice.

If you're inclined to doubt the efficacy of regulation—perhaps you've noticed that it hasn't had much effect on Bell Canada, to take a homely example—then consider public ownership as the positive alternative to the multi-national corporation. Allegedly backward Third World countries are increasingly seeing the necessity of that alternative, partly because it's their only option. They have too small a business class for independent capitalism to be a viable redevelopment strategy; our own strategy, however, is simply too subservient.

2. Stop all payments of "incentives" to foreign corporations. It's like paying to be raped. The corporations want to take resources out in unprocessed forms; to create industrial jobs only within 100 miles

from  
p. 1

WB

# policy is 'nonsense'

of Toronto's City Hall; to abstain from exporting so as not to compete with their parents; to provide a captive market for their parents by importing parts to assemble here; to do little research and development; to finance their growth by borrowing from Canadian banks as well as by plowing back the profits earned here in Canada, etc.

It turns out that the government does have a foreign ownership policy. It consists of subsidizing the foreign corporations, by tariffs, subsidies and tax deals, using your dollars and mine to try to make them behave in the Canadian public interest.

There is a straightforward alternative. Tell the corporations where to locate, how much R&D to do, and so on. If they're unwilling to act in the public interest, then set up publicly owned enterprises that will.

3. Articulate a national policy that transcends the narrower interests of provincial premiers who are too often the easy pawns of multinational corporations. Trade Minister Pepin's ultimate answer to his press critics on Tuesday was invariably that he couldn't do much without irritating those provincial premiers.

It's a weak reply. A federal government is elected to represent a national interest that transcends provincial concerns. The balkanization of Canada that results from Mr. Pepin's logic only plays into the hands of the foreign corporations who prefer to whipsaw 10 governments than risk having to obey one.

Nor do the provincial premiers necessarily know of what they speak. Don't block foreign investment, they say, or our people already experiencing heavy unemployment, will have even fewer jobs. But how does that square with the fact that unemployment exists in hinterland areas in spite of a century of development under the aegis of foreign corporations? The answer is that underdevelopment exists because of the nature of the multi-national corporation, and because of the absence of a firm national policy.

It is pathetic that the best Robert Stanfield can do is to complain that the new review board on takeovers doesn't formally involve the provinces. Mr. Stanfield insists on seeing himself as a premier of Nova Scotia, now resident of Ottawa, and fails to understand what he might have said even to represent properly that province: Set up a full screening mechanism and direct it to give first priority to evening out development across Canada.

4. Make a firm commitment to halt and reverse the steady upward climb in the overall level of foreign ownership and control. The ultimate bankruptcy of the present legislation is that it does not even offer any guarantee that it will slow the rate at which foreign ownership has grown for a century. When you already have the highest level of foreign ownership in the world, when even a committee of the Senate—hardly a radical body—predicts the break-up of the country within eight years unless drastic steps are taken, when econom-

ists are predicting intolerable levels of unemployment for the indefinite future, is that really too much to ask?

Apparently it is. But the question will not go away and the government's cavalier answer may prove to be its own undoing. Even the hardened journalists of the parliamentary press gallery seemed somewhat in a state of disbelief on Tuesday that the government had chosen to do so little. As for the rest of us, Canadian nationalism may not be the most vibrant around, but it is far from non-existent and it has grown remarkably in the past five years. The leaders of the Committee for an Independent Canada, many of whom helped elect Mr. Trudeau in 1968, were unable to hide their disillusionment.

The test, of course, will come as to what they, and the rest of us, do now. For the need is urgent to build a powerful independentist movement. It is surely clear that the business class and the old-line political parties have no intention of shouldering that task. If the Nixonomics of Aug. 15 of last year made visible the reality of American imperialism to Canadians, then May 2 exposed in a telling way the colonial mentality of our leaders.

Working people, who bear the costs of our present dependency, must take the future in their own hands. It makes the struggle for independence harder, but has the great virtue that it promises to create a radically different and better Canada, both independent and socialist.

# Ontario NDP to demand expulsion of Waffle wing

The Ontario New Democratic Party's executive committee said yesterday the ultra-nationalist Waffle movement must be dissolved or its members would face disciplinary action or expulsion from the party.

But Waffle leaders James Laxer and Melville Watkins defiantly promised they would not dissolve their three-year-old group, which believes in nationalization of major Canadian business and industry.

"The Waffle group is not going to dissolve," said Laxer, a York University political science professor who was runner-up in last year's national NDP leadership race.

## 'SERIOUS BUSINESS'

"I'd prefer they stay within the party," provincial NDP leader Stephen Lewis said. "This is an intensely serious business but the party will come through it. There was just no way to compromise."

The party's executive voted 17-6 Saturday, endorsing a report on the Waffle by a special three-man committee. The report accused the Waffle of "claiming the right to a continuing existence as an unofficial formal opposition within the party in order to take over the party and fundamentally reshape it."

It recommended the Waffle—which claims one-third of the party's 25,000 Ontario members—be dissolved "as soon as possible."

The recommendation—opposed by the six Wafflers on the executive—goes to the provincial council meeting June 24-25 in Orillia, where about 250 delegates from riding associations and unions will decide the Waffle's fate.

The report said the Waffle has developed a growing body of supporters who represent "a current which is as dangerous to the NDP as George Wallace's populism is to the Democratic Party in the United States."

Last night, Watkins and Laxer were infuriated by the references to the segregationist Alabama governor.

Calling it a "purge," Laxer said the statements about bigotry and intolerance within the Waffle are "a most serious example of the kind of hysteria of our leadership."

"For them to compare rank and file members of the NDP to followers of George Wallace is the most intolerant, outrageous statement ever made about one socialist by another," Laxer said.

Watkins, a University of Toronto economics professor, said: "The question is whether the NDP is or is not committed to an independent Canada. There is no doubt where the Waffle stands on that."

Both men blamed Stephen Lewis and the leaders of "a few big unions" for the move to oust their movement from the party, which favors nationalization of some key industries and controls on the rest.

## MOVE 'INEVITABLE'

David Lewis, NDP national leader and Stephen's father, said: "I can't blame the provincial executive for taking this position for I think it was inevitable the party would have to react to a party within a party."

And Donald MacDonald, national NDP president and former Ontario party leader, said: "There is every need for a vigorous left-wing view in any socialist democratic party, but those views

should be expressed as individuals rather than those of an organized party within a party."

Gordon Vichert, the party's provincial president, and one of the authors of the executive report, predicted the recommendation to oust the Waffle would be approved by two thirds of the council.

"If that failed, we (Waffle opponents) would have to make a very great decision," he said. "I personally probably might stay, but many other people might decide to leave the party."

Before writing the report, the committee held meetings and accepted briefs in six Ontario cities. Besides Vichert, a McMaster University English professor, the committee includes John Brewin, party treasurer, and Gerald Caplan, once Lewis' executive assistant and one of the authors of the original Waffle Manifesto in 1969.

## VANISHING POINT

"We began this commission in all sincerity," Vichert said. "The common ground we thought existed has disappeared almost to the vanishing point."

Vichert said the part of the report about "intolerance and bigotry" of some Wafflers refers to "people without a fundamental commitment to the democratic process, heirs of the U.S. New Left, who see all those who do not share their views as heretics."

"They represent a powerful current in contemporary society that can destroy the NDP if we allow it to."

They are not Communists, but people "who oppose electoral politics altogether," Vichert said.

"And he (Vichert) calls us intolerant," Laxer said. "We have worked hard for the party. We've canvassed hard. Our members are the most active people in many riding associations. We've always been committed to the democratic process."

Watkins said Stephen Lewis would "pack" the summer council meeting with trade union delegates to make sure the executive's recommendations are carried.

Gordon Brigden, the party's provincial secretary, said the Waffle members "refuse" to account for themselves to the party. He

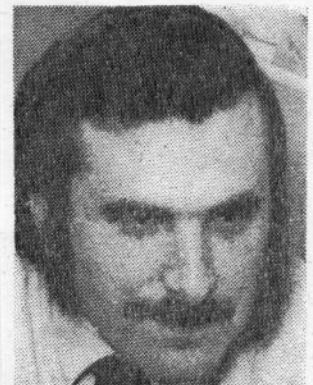
said Mel Watkins, when asked by the committee, replied in effect: "We're not accountable to anyone."

Laxer, who with Watkins is a federal NDP candidate, told The Star last night that the Waffle is "open to compromise, but we intend to exist as an organized group."

Watkins said Lewis will win the vote with the help of union men, "but it will be a hollow victory. He'll pass that motion but he will destroy the party. He must be deterred from this utterly insane procedure."



MELVILLE WATKINS  
Angry defiance



JAMES LAXER  
"Hysteria" in leadership

MR HANS G MODLICH  
50 STEPHANIE ST  
TORONTO 8  
PR 13 FR  
APR 1 1972

# The Executive Committee report . . .

## Introduction

On March 20, 1972, the provincial council of the New Democratic Party, by a vote of 157 to 62, recognized "the grave anxiety among our membership at the emergence of a distinct and separate group within the party" and directed the executive to prepare a statement outlining the responsibilities and obligations of members to the party. The executive appointed a committee to draft a statement for consideration. The committee consisted of the president, Gordon Vichert, the treasurer, John Brewin and a third member of the executive, Gerald Caplan.

The committee was directed to consider the various resolutions submitted to that council meeting, as well as briefs and letters sent to the provincial office, and to make itself available throughout the province to give members, riding associations and affiliated organizations an opportunity to communicate directly with the committee before the statement was drafted.

Accordingly, members of the committee held six regional meetings beginning on April 19; these were in Thunder Bay, Sudbury, Timmins, Ottawa, London and Toronto. Approximately 500 persons attended these various meetings. One hundred and three written briefs were received and more than a hundred persons made oral presentations.

## The Committee

As members of the committee, we wish to make our biases quite clear from the outset. None of us is a Waffler. All of us disagree more or less with the strategies and objectives of the Waffle group. All of us share the grave anxiety of the majority of council

delegates about the present role of this group within the party.

Having said that, however, we assert categorically that we approached the drafting of this statement with no preconceptions about its contents. While we agreed that a problem existed, we had no pat solutions. We conducted meetings and read briefs in good faith and with open minds. We began with the hope that a compromise acceptable to the whole party could be discovered.

Not all members of the party will believe this assertion. Clearly we are seen by some as part of a conspiratorial cabal created merely to crush the Waffle. We can never hope to persuade such people otherwise, and simply point to this situation as a manifestation of the unhappy and intolerable position in which the party now finds itself. To some of our members, we learned, mere election to an office in the party makes one an authoritarian bureaucrat, a sellout to socialism.

## The Question

During the course of our deliberations we have come to see the issue before the party differently than we did at first. Initially, the focus was on structure: When does a group become a party within a party? Should an unrecognized group or a caucus maintain a mailing list or raise funds? Does that group go beyond the bounds of acceptable activity if it hires an organizer? These were the issues raised in the resolution sent to Council by the Hamilton Mountain Riding Association and taken up by Stephen Lewis in his March 20th speech to Council.

As we listened to briefs and presentations, particularly **See COMMITTEE, page 2**



GORDON VICHERT, President of the Ontario NDP and co-author of the Executive Committee Report.

## Seven-point plan aims to spark discussion of report

The Executive at its meeting on May 6th passed the following procedures regarding its statement to be presented to Provincial Council in Orillia on June 24-25:

1. That the report be sent to all riding presidents, secretaries and Council delegates.
2. That the report be printed in the New Democrat along with a statement of equal length by one of the Executive members who opposed the report. Also that a cross section of briefs be published.
3. That mailing lists of riding presidents, secretaries and all Council delegates

be given to any member of the Party, at his or her own expense, who wishes to distribute his or her views on the subject. (Cost of the mailing list is \$5.00).

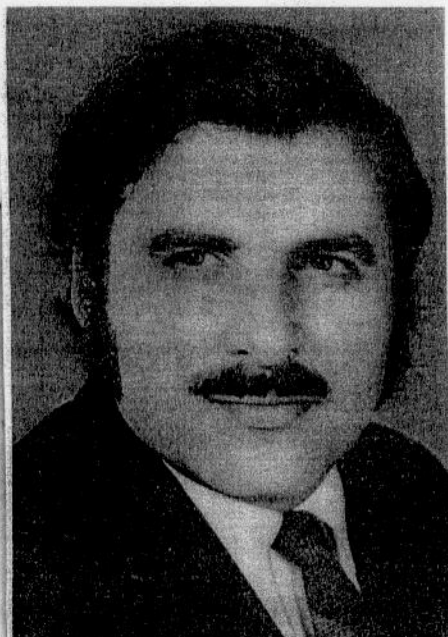
4. That Provincial Office supply speakers, where requested, to explain the Executive report.

5. That ridings and affiliated organizations be encouraged to hold general meetings to discuss the Executive's report.

6. That the Provincial Office make available, during office hours (9 a.m. - 5 p.m.), briefs submitted to the Committee, excepting those briefs submitted by individuals in confidence who wish their briefs to remain in confidence.

7. That the President and Secretary convene a press conference on the report.

## . . . a reply on behalf of The Waffle



JAMES LAXER, a spokesman for the Waffle Group and author of the accompanying reply to the Executive Committee report.

The following statement is the reply of James Laxer to the Vichert-Brewin-Caplan Report, endorsed by the Provincial Executive by a vote of 17-6. Mr. Laxer is a spokesman for the Waffle group, and also is one of the executive members who voted against accepting the committee report.

Members of the Ontario New Democratic Party should carefully ponder the report of the Vichert-Brewin-Caplan Commission. The document is one of the most important in the history of the party. Now that it is going as a statement of the executive to the council of the party, it may prove to be the most fateful statement in the history of our party.

The conclusions of the report are simple and stark. The report, if adopted by the council, orders the Waffle group to disband. If it does not, its supporters will be summarily expelled from membership in the NDP.

The commission report is the product of a trio of party executive members whose experience in listening to briefs from party members around the province has evidently unhinged their rationality.

It had been hoped by many that the feedback received in the 103 written and over 100 oral presentations would cause the commission to produce a balanced statement that reflected the sentiments of a cross section of party members. Instead the commissioners have recoiled in fear from the membership of the party.

That this is so is evident in the language and tone of the report. The commissioners have revealed a phobia about supporters of the Waffle group that is so extreme that it results in scarcely believable, coarse and naive characterizations of party members. Rank and file supporters of the Waffle group are compared by the commissioners to the George Wallace pheno-

menon in the American Democratic Party. The commissioners say:

"Again and again among rank and file Wafflers we found a Messianic fundamentalism, a bigotry and intolerance which echoed the American south."

What is even more remarkable is the fact that this slanderous attack on supporters of the Waffle group is extended to cover the entire party membership in the next paragraph. The commissioners state:

"Our party has always been vulnerable to the charge of moral high-mindedness and insufferable self-righteousness. As we have matured, these offensive characteristics have become less pronounced. Now, alas, in their rediscovery of the True Faith, many Waffle supporters have re-injected these qualities with a vengeance."

The commissioners here are smearing the CCF-NDP tradition as it has existed in Canada for forty years. Presumably, as the party has moved from the eras of J. S. Woodsworth and Tommy Douglas to the era of the Lewises, it has gradually become less offensive to the commissioners. Many other party members may be forgiven for seeing the evolution as a move away from the basic principles for which our party was established.

The commissioners have approached the hearings held around the province with a marked inconsistency. At the meeting of the executive of the ONDP on May 6 where the report was adopted, the commissioners stated that the briefs they heard were in no sense to be regarded as the basis for the report. Early in the report though, they state that as they listened to presentations from Waffle supporters, their view of the situation changed. They became convinced that the Waffle presents such a fundamental challenge to the

**See WAFFLE, page 3**

# Executive report ...

Page 1.

## Introduction

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delegates about the present role of this group within the party.

Having said that, however, we assert categorically that we approached the drafting of this statement with no preconceptions about its contents. While we agreed that a problem existed, we had no pat solutions. We conducted meetings and read briefs in good faith and with open minds. We began with the hope that a compromise acceptable to the whole party could be discovered.

Not all members of the party will believe this assertion. Clearly we are seen by some as part of a conspiratorial cabal created merely to crush the Waffle. We can never hope to persuade such people otherwise, and simply point to this situation as a manifestation of the unhappy and intolerable position in which the party now finds itself. To some of our members, we learned, mere election to an office in the party makes one an authoritarian bureaucrat, a sellout to socialism.

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During the course of our deliberations we have come to see the issue before the party differently than we did at first. Initially, the focus was on structure: When does a group become a party within a party? Should an unrecognized group or a caucus maintain a mailing list or raise funds? Does that group go beyond the bounds of acceptable activity if it hires an organizer? These were the issues raised in the resolution sent to Council by the Hamilton Mountain Riding Association and taken up by Stephen Lewis in his March 20th speech to Council.

As we listened to briefs and presentations, particularly from Waffle supporters, the issues changed. We began to see that the Waffle presents a direct and fundamental challenge to the whole structure, direction, purpose and leadership of the party.

The Waffle states explicitly that the party in all its aspects has failed, and that therefore a formal continuing structure within the party is necessary to fight for alternative policies, principles and leadership, not only before but between conventions.

In effect, the Waffle is claiming the right to a continuing existence as an unofficial formal, opposition within the party, in order to take over the party and fundamentally reshape it.

In a brief submitted by Bruce Kidd and others, the point is argued fully: Canada is in crisis; the NDP has completely failed to respond to the crisis. "A complete and fundamental change in the party is necessary; the trade union movement, the Parliamentary caucus, the provincial office and the constituencies are unable to respond and have left the party "timid", "confused" and "bankrupt". These sentiments were shared by most Wafflers and reflect the profound disagreement between the Waffle and the majority of the party.

The question has therefore become whether our party, which has had a long history of acceptance of dissent within its ranks, is prepared to accept a group organized on a continuing basis for the expressed purpose of securing fundamental changes in the structure, leadership and policies of the party.

## The Committee's Observations

The Committee recognizes that many people in the party think that the Waffle has performed a valuable role. Many believe that at the 1969 Winnipeg convention the Waffle steered a weary party into a re-examination of its tactics and principles. The Waffle has been

From p. 1

given widespread credit within the party for raising a number of important issues and for acting as a useful counter-balance to the elected leadership. After all, many NDPers are instinctively anti-establishment in attitude and the Waffle has not surprisingly appealed to this group.

We believe, however, that the Waffle has subtly changed. It is still led by a small academic group of well-known individuals who are commonly thought to speak for it. But at the same time it has developed a growing body of supporters spread throughout the province, who are heavily concentrated in certain ridings.

This second group represents a distinct current of opinion within the community, a current which is as dangerous to the NDP as George Wallace's populism is to the Democratic Party in the United States. The comparison is deliberately chosen; again and again among rank and file Wafflers we found a messianic fundamentalism, a bigotry and intolerance which echoed the American South.

Our party has always been vulnerable to the charge of moral high-mindedness and insufferable self-righteousness. As we have matured, these offensive characteristics have become less pronounced. Now, alas, in their rediscovery of the True Faith, many Waffle supporters have re-injected these qualities with a vengeance.

Again and again submissions by Wafflers reflected a complete lack of faith in the integrity not only of elected officers of the party but of devoted rank-and-file workers. On the other hand they seemed blind to any criticism of their own apparatus or view and indeed seemed to construe any criticism of themselves as somehow a criticism of socialism itself.

This kind of double standard worked in other ways. While persistently denouncing the elected party leaders for allegedly suppressing democracy, Waffle supporters displayed a consistent contempt for the elected council and executive of the party.

At meetings in Ottawa and Toronto a substantial body of Waffle supporters treated members who presented anti-Waffle statements with indifference or scorn. They frequently booed, hissed or jeered members of the party with whom they disagreed. This attitude was summed up in the written brief of one Toronto Waffler whose submission, in its entirety, read "Fuck you's, kangaroos".

We are not suggesting the imposition of some kind of personality test for membership in the NDP. But we have concluded that the existence of a permanent or continuing opposition group, such as the Waffle, acts as a magnet for a significant number of people whose form of political discourse makes normal democratic activities nearly impossible.

The original impulses of the Waffle have set in motion forces not contemplated by its founders and, even today, not adequately recognized by its leaders

and many of its supporters. They have tapped a vein of mindless hostility to authority and called it democratic socialism.

Surely this was a foreseeable price of allowing the Waffle to become a permanent ongoing opposition group within the party. It is a price the party should not be asked to bear.

The second cost is in the public perception of the party. The public sees only a dual leadership and inevitably becomes confused about the purpose, direction and policies of the party. It is not enough for Waffle spokesmen to say that they continually make the distinction between Waffle policy and NDP policy. The existence of a formal continuing group in our party cannot fail to confuse the public.

Thirdly, by creating a permanent opposition group the Waffle draws the party into a continual contest, ranging across all aspects of the party. The contest ultimately damages the internal morale of the party, and sets up a continuing competition for funds, energy and above all, the loyalties of party members. By their own statements Waffle supporters indicate that they cannot accept the result of convention decisions, and that they will battle on between conventions until they have fundamentally changed the party.

The inevitable result of such a permanent internal opposition is a deepening and, in our view, now irreconcilable division in the party. Perhaps two quotations, one from J. S. Woodsworth and one from Cy Gonick, will make our point:

*"The C.C.F. is strongly in favour of a united front of all workers. Indeed, to further that end was the reason for the formation of our federation. We consider that we have been fairly successful . . . May I point out that a real united front involves an agreement on fundamentals, and a belief on the part of each co-operating group in the sincerity of the other group."*

J. S. Woodsworth, Report of the C.C.F. National Council, 1935.

*"What social democratic parties teach is apathy, passiveness and dependence. That is why they are irrelevant in the building of a socialist society . . . The Liberals have co-opted the nationalist issue because it has been shorn of its socialist content. David Lewis sounds like an angry Trudeau and a petulant Stanfield. Maybe his driving fist and his outraged indignation will be enough to win a few more seats for the NDP in the upcoming federal election. Somehow it doesn't seem to matter."*

Cy Gonick, NDP MLA (Manitoba) in *Canadian Dimension*, March-April, 1972

To us, however, and we believe to the NDP, the winning of "a few more seats" matters profoundly.

The depth of the division between the NDP and the Waffle can be measured in an examination of the five elements that make up the New Democratic Party:

## Executive Report (continued)

1. The party can be defined in terms of its principles, as determined from the Regina Manifesto through successive conventions to the present. The Waffle exists, by its own admission, in order to change these principles.

2. The party can be defined by a commitment to electoral politics as well as to extra-parliamentary activities. Cy Gonick, although from another province, speaks for an increasing number of frustrated Ontario

Wafflers in totally rejecting the relevance of electoral politics.

3. The party can be defined by its policies. The Waffle has alternative policies in almost every field and has consistently and publicly criticized the official policies of the party.

4. The party can also be defined by its leadership. The Waffle not only rejects the present leadership of the party but in many submissions to the committee, Waffle supporters actually implied that any non-Waffle leader is virtually a traitor to socialism.

5. The party can be defined by its structure. The Waffle claims to find the structure of the party intolerably repressive and undemocratic.

6. Finally, a defining characteristic of the NDP is its relationship with the trade union movement, which was, after all, a founding partner of this party. This relationship has received more ignorant abuse from the Waffle than it usually gets from the old-line parties.

### Dissent

Socialists cherish dissent. They also demand the right to dissent. One of the proudest moments in the history of our party was the morning in October 1970, when 16 NDP members of parliament rose in the House to oppose the War Measures Act.

No reasonable person, however, demands absolutely unfettered liberty. Democrats must always face the problem of balancing legitimate demand for liberty with the legitimate need for order. Democratic socialists invariably weigh the balance in order to maximize liberty and minimize authority. We are not, however, anarchists, and we do have priorities.

Our party exists to fulfil certain purposes which have been decided upon by a majority of its members. In our judgment, the fulfilment of those purposes takes precedence over any absolute rights of unfettered freedom, and when the assertion of such rights threatens to undermine the Party's over-riding function, the party is entitled, even obligated, to assert its rights. We believe the present situation is of such a kind.

We reject, however, the proposition that this means the suppression of the legitimate, democratic rights of party members. Rather, we see it as a redefinition of the concept of legitimacy. We consider it illegitimate

to tolerate groupings which in effect oppose every characteristic which defines our party. It is impossible for us to see what such a group has left in common with the party or why it should itself any longer wish to remain within the party, (except that it is presumably more convenient to inherit a full blown political machine than to create a new one from scratch).

We insist, in short, on at least certain common denominators. But surely this leaves substantial scope for the right to dissent. Some examples should serve to indicate this:

1. Any elected official of this party can be replaced democratically by any other member, either at annual riding meetings or at biennial conventions.

2. Any riding association or affiliated organization can submit to council for approval a motion calling for structural changes in the machinery of the party. Among proposals that the committee received were a number dealing with the method by which delegates are selected to council and conventions. But to our knowledge, these proposals have never been submitted for consideration by the party through its constitutional machinery.

3. Any riding association or affiliated organization is free — and indeed should be encouraged — to suggest to the executive or council new initiatives which the party should properly undertake, whether in the nature of conferences, demonstrations, public pronouncements or the like. Surely in such a case it is desirable that the entire party, rather than a single group, undertake such initiatives. In our view, those who prefer to work outside the formal apparatus on such initiatives are really working against it, for they are then visibly in competition with the formal party, vying for public attention and for internal prestige.

4. No single aspect of our party must be considered sacred, and it is perfectly appropriate for any riding association or affiliated organization to submit any motion it wishes to the executive or council. Such motions could be for anything from a restatement of the party's basic principles to a reconsideration of the 1961 decisions on the relationship of the labour movement to the party.

5. Individuals in the party are obviously free to propose and work for whatever changes in structure, leadership or policies they consider necessary or desirable. The spirit of the constitution and practice of the party clearly entitles members to join with others, before and during conventions, to achieve changes in the party.

The machinery for effecting change, then, already exists, though no one pretends it is perfect. In our judgment, those who protest its irrelevance seem to be saying that they cannot win over a majority of their fellow members.

Any riding association or affiliated organization which agrees on a point of view has an absolute right to have that view considered by the executive or council. Those who claim that this is inadequate are again simply saying that they cannot persuade the majority of those bodies to agree with them.

For what it is worth, we believe that a number of the proposals in the briefs we have received would get highly sympathetic treatment from all levels of the party.

Through these procedures, we are confident that dissenters have every opportunity to influence the majority, while the wishes of that majority continue to determine the nature of this party.

## Conclusion

We undertook our commission from the executive with the hope that a formula could be found for peace and tolerance within the party. While recognizing the depth of feeling surrounding the Waffle, we hoped that the basic loyalty of members to the party would enable us to find an amicable compromise. Regretfully we have concluded that such a compromise is impossible because the Waffle, in demanding the right to continue as an organized opposition within the party, is making an unacceptable demand of the party.

Similarly, we had hoped to set out general guidelines for dissent acceptable to the whole party. The party desperately wants an end to the destructive internal debate over the proper limits of criticism and dissent. We found, however, that we were faced with a specific problem, arising out of particular circumstances. No abstract and hypothetical solutions seemed appropriate. We can only hope that out of the experience of the last few years the party evolves a new understanding of the ways in which it can conduct its debates with force but with mutual trust and understanding.

Our conclusions are hard, but the party must believe that they are not presented vindictively. We do not want to drive anyone from the party. Nor do we believe that the views expressed by the Waffle should be suppressed. The party must be even more vigorous in encouraging dissent and internal debate.

We believe many Waffle supporters and sympathizers will continue to engage in this debate; we urge them to do so. Many of the qualities which made the Waffle attractive to its supporters belong, and must remain, in the party. The party has room for all persons who share its general strategies and objectives, however much they may disagree with specific aspects of policy or structure.

We recognize, further, that the Waffle was not created in a vacuum but was built on legitimate grievances felt by many members of the party. We know, also, how important the Waffle has been in some of the most important discussions now taking place in Canada.

Even among non-Wafflers there is substantial concern about the sometimes sluggish response of the party to policy issues, about the difficulties of intra-party communications and debate, and about the relationship of the labour movement to the party. We are therefore recommending that the next meeting of council establish three committees to review these areas.

We are also referring to the Constitution Committee all suggestions we have received for constitutional amendments and recommend that Council instruct the Committee to give immediate consideration to a number of useful suggestions.

Finally, we urge all members of the party to recognize the importance of the Waffle in the history of the party, but to recognize also that it has outlived its usefulness. With this understanding, we can unite again on the common ground we all share. Our real enemies are still all around us.

## Recommendations

We therefore specifically recommend as follows:

1. That the executive should recommend to the council the adoption of the following statement on the responsibilities and obligations of members to the party:

"In the opinion of council, it is contrary to the spirit and meaning of the constitution of the New Democratic Party for members to participate actively in a group organized on a continuing basis for the expressed purpose of securing fundamental changes in the strategies, structure, leadership, policies and principles of the party.

"The Waffle has become such a group and must therefore be dissolved as soon as possible.

"Any member of the party who thereafter actively participates in a group described in the first paragraph of this resolution will be subject to the disciplinary provisions of the constitution."

2. That the executive recommend that council direct the constitution committee of the executive to give immediate consideration to proposals for constitutional changes submitted to this committee.

3. That the executive recommend to council the appointment of committees of council

a) to consider ways and means of improving internal party communications and stimulating participation in the decision-making processes of the party by members from all regions of the province and all levels of the party.

b) to review the relationship of the trade union movement to the party, and, in particular, to recommend ways and means of securing greater participation by affiliated members in the party.

c) to develop an active educational programme within the party.

# Waffle reply

Page 3

*JAMES LAXER, a spokesman for the Waffle Group and author of the accompanying reply to the Executive Committee report.*

Members of the Ontario New Democratic Party should carefully ponder the report of the Vichert-Brewin-Caplan Commission. The document is one of the most important in the history of the party. Now that it is going as a statement of the executive to the council of the party, it may prove to be the most fateful statement in the history of our party.

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It had been hoped by many that the feedback received in the 103 written and over 100 oral presentations would cause the commission to produce a balanced statement that reflected the sentiments of a cross section of party members. Instead the commissioners have recoiled in fear from the membership of the party.

That this is so is evident in the language and tone of the report. The commissioners have revealed a phobia about supporters of the Waffle group that is so extreme that it results in scarcely believable, coarse and naive characterizations of party members. Rank and file supporters of the Waffle group are compared by the commissioners to the George Wallace phenomenon in the American Democratic Party. The commissioners say:

"Again and again among rank and file Wafflers we found a Messianic fundamentalism, a bigotry and intolerance which echoed the American south."

What is even more remarkable is the fact that this slanderous attack on supporters of the Waffle group is extended to cover the entire party membership in the next paragraph. The commissioners state:

"Our party has always been vulnerable to the charge of moral high-mindedness and insufferable self-righteousness. As we have matured, these offensive characteristics have become less pronounced. Now,

and, in their rediscovery of the True Faith, many Waffle supporters have re-injected these qualities with a vengeance."

The commissioners here are smearing the CCF-NDP tradition as it has existed in Canada for forty years. Presumably, as the party has moved from the eras of J. S. Woodsworth and Tommy Douglas to the era of the Lewises, it has gradually become less offensive to the commissioners. Many other party members may be forgiven for seeing the evolution as a move away from the basic principles for which our party was established.

The commissioners have approached the hearings held around the province with a marked inconsistency. At the meeting of the executive of the ONDP on May 6 where the report was adopted, the commissioners stated that the briefs they heard were in no sense to be regarded as the basis for the report. Early in the report though, they state that as they listened to presentations from Waffle supporters, their view of the situation changed. They became convinced that the Waffle presents such a fundamental challenge to the party, that its continued existence can no longer be tolerated.

The heart of the Vichert-Caplan-Brewin Report is contained in their exposition of five areas of fundamental incompatibility between the Waffle group and the rest of the party. In responding to their case, it is necessary to respond in some detail to these five assertions.

The report's first assertion states:

"The party can be defined in terms of its principles, as determined from the Regina Manifesto through successive conventions to the present. The Waffle exists, by its own admission, in order to change these principles."

This statement is oddly at variance with the commission's earlier charge that the Waffle is reviving the moral offensiveness of the old CCF. More to the point, it is surely evident that in terms of basic principles, the Waffle manifesto is far closer to the Regina Manifesto than is the present programme of the party. The fact is, of course, that the principles of the party have been constantly debated for forty years and that the Waffle group falls well within the spectrum of that continuing debate.

The second assertion of the report is that the Waffle increasingly rejects electoral politics. The evidence they cite for this is their statement that Cy Gonick, an NDP MLA from Manitoba, is fed up with electoral politics. An odd piece of evidence when discussing the Ontario Waffle group, where four Waffle supporters have recently been nominated as NDP candidates for the forthcoming federal election.

Also in Ontario, several Waffle supporters ran as NDP candidates in the last provincial election and did better on the average than other party candidates.

The report's third assertion is that the Waffle has alternative policy views in almost every area. What the report fails to point out is the fact that at the last

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convention of the ONDP, Waffle statements on housing, energy resources and women were adopted as ONDP policy.

Perhaps the commissioners are unhappy about the fact that the last party convention took strong left positions on policy questions, thereby making a clear dividing line between the policies of the party and the views of Waffle supporters impossible to make.

The report asserts that the Waffle rejects the present leadership of the party. If this means the Waffle group has been highly critical of the party leadership, then it is true. If it means the Waffle has been disloyal to the leadership during critical periods like election campaigns, then it is a slander which is calculated to silence critics within the party.

The report states that the Waffle finds the party structure intolerably repressive. If anything, the Waffle group has spent altogether too little time thinking about party structure, its main concern being policy. What the commission is here referring to is the profound sense of dissatisfaction among riding association activists who are becoming fed up with their powerlessness in the party.

The final assertion of the report is the statement that the Waffle has an ignorant and abusive attitude to the relationship of the party to the labour movement. The Waffle has always supported the principle of a trade union base in the socialist movement, and questions only the nature of this affiliation.

To portray the Waffle as anti-labour is simply to broadcast a falsehood. Especially at a time when the leaders of some of the affiliated unions are mobilizing their forces to expel a large number of members from the ONDP, it is necessary and proper to question the power that the labour leadership has in the ONDP.

Since the commissioners fail to make a case for their definition of the Waffle as being outside the party on these six points, their entire report and its recommendations must be seen as essentially invalid.

It is not enough, however, simply to quarrel with the major defects of the report.

The report's conclusion that the Waffle group must disband is, after all, the key question. It is that question which the party must grapple with in facing the decisive council meeting to be held in Orillia on June 24 and 25.

In rejecting the conclusions of the report, we must do so fundamentally because the Waffle group is an essential part of our party and of the Canadian socialist movement.

The emergence of the Waffle group in 1969 was an event in the history of a number of movements in Canada. It marked the rebirth of the first serious radical socialist force in the NDP since the alliance between the top leadership of the CLC and the domin-

ant eastern wing of the CCF had given birth to the NDP. As part of the youth radicalism of the 1960s, the Waffle formed a clear break with the various strains of American New Leftism that had dominated the Canadian scene since the early sixties.

As the first coherent political statement on the left on the issue of foreign ownership, the Waffle manifesto asserted the powerful interrelation between the goals of Canadian independence and socialism and fundamentally affected Canadian political debate in so doing.

Clearly the overriding purpose in the minds of those who wrote the Waffle Manifesto was to express the severe danger that the multi-national corporation posed to the future of Canada. The threat to Canadians, whether socialist or not, was that the power of the American economic, cultural and social presence in Canada could destroy Canadian nationhood with such finality that Canadian communities would be reduced to seeking a better life for themselves as marginal northern outposts of American politics.

This loss of a Canadian perspective was alarmingly evident in the youth and student movement of the sixties. For the Americanized New Leftists of those days, American issues such as race and the draft were central while the issue of Canada's struggle against the control of the American empire was not even perceived.

The gradualist social democracy of the NDP was equally blind to the reality of the American empire. The NDP had been born at the end of the long ideological retreat of the CCF away from explicit socialism. It was NDP doctrine that a better society could emerge without major upheaval and even without large scale public ownership as a means of transferring power from the corporations to the working people.

Such an optimistic and gradualist doctrine was scarcely capable of dealing with the fact that far from moving slowly down the linear path of progress, Canada was rapidly becoming a resource colony of the United States. To the theoretical weakness of a social democracy that did not face the problem of how power was to be wrested from the capitalists, was added the NDP's failure to realize that without an effective programme for Canadian independence the quest for further social legislation was perfectly irrelevant.

That this was an enduring feature of NDP orthodoxy was revealed during the 1971 Ontario provincial election when Stephen Lewis asserted repeatedly that major changes could be achieved easily through the passage of a few pieces of legislation.

The Waffle manifesto was a basic challenge to NDP orthodoxy not because it called for more public ownership or because it used the word "imperialism" but because it posed an alternative way of looking at the world.

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## Waffle Reply (continued)

In the manifesto and subsequent statements the Waffle group asserted that Canadian business had been reduced to a junior partnership with American business. It asserted that Canada was suffering "de-industrialization" as the country became a resource hinterland of the United States.

This meant that industrial workers in unions faced a new threat to their livelihood as the proportion of Canadians employed in manufacturing declined. It meant as well that young people, educated or not, had diminished prospects of employment when entering the labour force.

The leadership of the NDP was not accustomed to serious challenges to its ways of doing things. During the quiescent politics of the fifties and early sixties, the leadership of the CCF-NDP came quite naturally to view its position as that of a monopoly on the Canadian left. Challenges from the left to their position had not been seriously mounted since the 1930s.

It is not surprising that the appearance of a coherent and organized left in 1969 was regarded as unwelcome by much of the party leadership. Some saw it as a seven day wonder of youthful enthusiasm; others saw it as a conspiracy; still others, wearing the glasses of the cold war, saw it as the rebirth of the reds they had put to rest so many years before.

Actually the Waffle group was a product of the social and intellectual currents of the 1960s, some of which were specific to Canada, others of which were world-wide in scope.

Everywhere in the industrial world, new movements came into existence in the sixties. Youth, racial minorities, and women created important and world-wide democratic movements for change. Toward the end of the decade powerful new evidences of working class radicalization were evident in France and Italy as well as in the third world.

In Canada the decade was dominated by two great facts: the rise of Quebec nationalism and the American takeover of Canada. In Quebec a powerful and democratic nationalist movement challenged the post-war orthodoxy in the Anglo-Saxon world that all nationalism is reactionary. Instead it became evident that what the Quebecois were fighting for was a country in which they would decide on the shape of their own society.

The Quebecois example was a powerful antidote for English Canadians who sought an alternative to slavish duplication of American trends.

And, of course, as the decade progressed the American takeover of Canada became ever more evident. Not only was it clear that, to use the words of the Waffle manifesto, "American corporate capitalism was the dominant force in shaping Canadian society", but the

American model was becoming everyday more repellent to Canadians.

It was regarded by much of the leadership of the NDP as outrageous for the Waffle manifesto to describe the American empire as characterized by "militarism abroad and racism at home". For many Canadians it was a simple fact that the war in Vietnam and the explosions in American cities pointed to deep flaws in American civilization.

Not surprisingly a decade of such turbulence produced an intellectual rebirth on the Canadian left. It can be traced in the pages of *Canadian Dimension* magazine. In its Red-Tory variety, it can be tasted in the most powerful statement of the decade, *Lament for a Nation*, George Grant's little volume that changed the course of Canadian intellectual history.

The manifesto was a reassertion of the socialist tradition in Canada, a tradition with powerful roots in both the labour and farm movements of the nation. It also constituted for many party members of all ages and all walks of life, a transcendence of both American style New Leftism and the tired welfare statism into which the NDP had lapsed. It was a challenge to the leadership and a ringing declaration of left wing Canadian nationalism; a programme for action in the 1970s.

Since that time some in the NDP have professed to see little new in all this. They claim the NDP was firmly committed to Canadian independence before the Waffle manifesto came along. In some particulars they are right. Basically, though, they are wrong.

The Waffle manifesto put the national question in the centre of the socialist agenda. It asserted that bold action and militant struggle were essential to achieve the goal of an independent Canada controlled by the Canadian people. It stated that only through public ownership of the largest corporations in the key sectors of the economy could Canada win its freedom from the American empire.

Intuitively, Canadians sensed that this manifesto and the movement it brought into being had something new to say on the question of Canadian nationhood and on the social fabric of Canada.

At the Winnipeg convention of the NDP in October 1969, 268 delegates voted for the manifesto, 499 against. The majority was astonished that the minority was jubilant following the vote. What was evident was that this was no simple division of the house on a resolution: this was the benchmark of a new movement in Canadian politics.

The Waffle group did not come into existence as a conspiratorial attempt to wrest control of the New Democratic Party. It marked the organized expression of a left that emerged out of the reality of the Canada of its period. Since its emergence the central challenge to the New Democratic Party has been to cope with this new movement creatively and not by administrative decree.

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The Waffle's contribution to the socialist movement in Canada, and hence to the NDP, since 1969 has been little short of enormous. Serious political discussion has been generated not only in the party but in Canada as a whole, about socialism and independence.

The initiatives of the Waffle in both policy debates and political action have awakened Canadians to such issues as the resources sellout, the Americanization of Canada, the relations between Quebec and English Canada, and the role of women in society. Such awakening is essential to the realization of socialism in Canada, as well as to the party which is the vehicle of that realization.

The spectre presented to Canadians by the resource sellouts and the attack on Canadian manufacturing is forcing us to rethink our assumptions about Canadian politics. It has taken the debate that has gone on for forty years in the CCF-NDP about public ownership out of the realm of the abstract and has made the debate thoroughly concrete.

Quite apart from any theory about how far one has to go to build a socialist society, the stark question, "what is a minimum programme for Canadian independence?" forces itself to the fore.

At present there are two conflicting methods of repatriation that Canadians can contemplate. Canadians can plan the repatriation of their economy under private or under public ownership.

If repatriation is attempted under private ownership, as the Committee for an Independent Canada would wish, enormous government subsidies and tax concessions would have to be made to Canadian businessmen. And it would be the wage earners, through higher taxes, who would pay to substitute Canadian for American private business.

Why should the working people of Canada exchange one exploiter for another? Even the immediate goal of national independence would not be achieved by such means. Given the present structure of the Canadian economy, and given private ownership of whatever nationality, the tendency of our economy to move toward resource deals with the United States will continue.

Only through public ownership of the resource sector and of certain key manufacturing industries can the independence of Canada be assured.

It is the fundamental weakness of the present NDP leadership that it has failed to clarify its programme for independence between these two options.

David Lewis has often stated eloquently, and correctly, that it makes no difference to Canadian working people whether they work for a Canadian or an American boss. But he has failed to state the corollary of this—that repatriation must be undertaken through public ownership.

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Even in the case of the oil industry, with its overwhelming degree of American ownership, Lewis regarded it as "ideological nonsense" to call for public ownership. Is it any wonder that a leader who dismisses both forms of repatriation open to the Canadian people is not regarded as credible on the issue of Canadian independence?

The dilemma faced by members of the NDP goes something like this: It is widely regarded as NDP orthodoxy that the objective of the party must be to elect a government on a moderate Ed Schreyer-like programme. Anything that stands in the way of this is bad for the party. A minimum programme for Canadian independence demands an alteration in this approach. At bottom, it has been the Waffle group's insistent demand for this that has resulted in the current response of much of the party leadership.

In the view of Waffle supporters, the edict of the Vichet-Brewin-Caplan commission that the Waffle must disband is a rejection of an important part of our party's history for the past three years. It is an untenable attempt on the part of some to turn the clock back to the days of non-debate in the party.

It won't work. Not only will the report's formula be rejected by the membership of the party, it is profoundly in contradiction to the present reality of Canadian politics.

The Canadian people are now facing the critical question of the survival of this country as a viable economic and cultural entity in which Canadians can shape their own lives. The Waffle group is an authentic and important part of that quest. Its initiatives cannot be stifled by administrative decree.

The adoption of the report by the ONDP executive reveals that much of the leadership of the party has lost confidence in its capacity to contain the demand for change from within the party through political debate.

What the report will do if adopted is to deny the right of caucuses of New Democrats to organize for change in their party. What the report will do if adopted is split the party.

The course ahead for our party must be different than the one outlined in the report. Free and open debate in the party is essential if we are to remain relevant to the changing circumstances that face our country.

Waffle supporters are loyal New Democrats. They want to see the party as a whole, through its legitimate structures, undertake socialist activities and support socialist programmes.

The Waffle group will gladly take its ideas and suggestions for action to the legitimate party apparatus for implementation. But what is to be gained from asking the Waffle to cease publishing articles, organizing conferences around key issues like the war measures act, the resources sellout and the auto-pact? If the party does not officially undertake these activities, is it treason for groups of party members to carry them forward? Surely, the socialist movement is larger, not smaller for it

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# A cross-section of briefs in the debate on The Waffle

## PRO...

### St. George

*Submission to the Sub-Committee on Responsibilities of Membership from the Executive of the St. George Riding Association.*

The St. George Riding Association is not predominantly Waffle-oriented, and its executive certainly spans a wide range of opinion on policy matters. However we are unanimously dismayed at the current trend toward threats and the insistence on conformity in this party.

Some people have been so alarmed by the Waffle group that talk has even turned to thoughts of purges and of limitations on free speech. It is hard to respect such ideas, or to understand such alarm.

This is not to suggest that there are no problems arising from the existence of such a group: these problems need of course to be discussed and where possible reduced; some of them we may have to live with. This is not to suggest that the Waffle group (or for that matter the caucus) has never overstepped good sense in its actions or statements.

But these problems and these errors of judgment are not really vital matters. Nothing that has so far occurred offers any reason for the draconian measures that have been discussed, nor for the air of witch-hunt that now pervades the Party. Some expenses must be paid for the "vigorous dispute" that Stephen Lewis has lauded.

It is this atmosphere of witch-hunt which itself constitutes the actual and urgent threat to this Party. Its continuation will further disenchant many of us, long-time party workers and not particularly supporters of either camp of the current dispute.

In this connection, the executive and leadership should be disabused of any idea that the party consists simply of two camps: Waffle supporters on one hand, and on the other those who feel threatened by the Waffle and would cheerfully watch the Waffle purged or destroyed.

On the contrary, vast numbers of us belong in neither category. But we are far from indifferent: there are many of us who would find it impossible to continue to work for a party in which, under present circumstances, a campaign of purge or severe restriction was waged. This is a warning and also in part a threat.

What are the problems which have

caused such concern? We may suppose that Stephen Lewis's speech to the last Council meeting was a catalogue. Stripped of his undoubted eloquence the list is not long nor very frightening. It does contain some important problems.

Some publications have been issued incorrectly using the name of the party: this is a serious matter, and agreement must be reached to prevent this abuse. Similarly some speeches may have caused confusion in the public mind: efforts must be made to avoid such confusion.

Beyond these things, there is a demonstration that an organization does exist, there is regret that financial and organizational resources are being used by the Waffle rather than the party as a whole, and there is regret over certain opinions expressed by Waffle supporters. This is not the stuff of purges.

Stephen Lewis also asked what was the necessity for such a group? He did not attempt to answer that question, but the answer is clear enough: it makes it possible to cooperate in the formulation and promulgation of a set of considered alternative policies for the party. This is potentially valuable and important.

Perhaps the Party should consider assisting such groups in their organizational needs, in fact, rather than objecting to them.

Granted, then, that there exist certain real problems, having to do largely with the public face of the party, how should they be resolved? It appears to us that the solution does not lie in an ever-more-restrictive constitution.

Finally what is needed is simply a workable *modus vivendi*, and this can realistically be worked out only in discussions between those facing the problems. It appears to us that this approach has not been properly explored. In that respect the make-up of the present committee is an affront to good sense: to achieve something practical it should surely have had a member sympathetic to the Waffle point of view.

The executive of St. George Riding urges this Committee to undertake now direct talks with leaders of that movement with a view to reaching workable solutions of the problems we've mentioned. Such solutions may, but need not, involve constitutional amendment: the essential points appear to be covered in the present wording of the constitution.

Passed for submission 26 April 1972.  
St. George Riding Executive.

## CON...

### Welland

*Submission by the executive of the Welland N.D.P. Riding Association to the special committee of the provincial executive.*

The Welland Riding N.D.P. is concerned about the emergence of the Waffle group or any other group within the N.D.P. that develops its own structure and organization based on philosophy and policy at variance with the democratically adopted philosophy and policy of the N.D.P.

Due to this concern, the Welland Riding N.D.P. Association, at its annual meeting in March, endorsed the Hamilton Mountain resolution. As a result of that decision and the subsequent action of the Provincial Council at its Oshawa meeting we herein make proposals for constitutional changes to prevent the continuance or new formation of any such group.

We believe that the methods used, while assuring the dismantling of the structure and organizations of the Waffle, must minimize the chances of expulsions from the party and preserve the right of the individual to disagree and to vigorously promote changes in party policy. In addition, bona fide organizations to promote the candidacies of members for office in the party must not be prevented.

After careful consideration, it appears that article 12 of the constitution (special sections) should provide the appropriate measures for dealing with the issue.

Specifically section 12 should be amended to incorporate the following provisions:

1. There should be no special sections (formal or informal) of the N.D.P. except as provided in this article and article 11.

2. No section may be formed on the basis of a philosophy and policy at variance with that of the N.D.P. and no section may have a program or constitution in conflict with the principles, policies and constitutions of the federal and provincial parties.

3. A separate section shall be considered to exist when one or more of the following conditions prevail: a section mailing address, a section mailing list, a section office, section officers, a section conference, a section organizer and a section name.

4. If sections exist or are formed in violation of this constitution, officers of the section, or those establishing the section office, or those convening the section conference, or those under whose

names section letters are sent out or funds solicited, or those who make public pronouncements under the section name, shall be subject to discipline as prescribed in article 13.

### Nipissing

Committee on Membership,  
New Democratic Party of Ontario,  
11½ Spadina Road,  
Toronto 4, Ont.  
Dear Sirs:

Nipissing Riding would like to submit the following resolution which was passed at an executive meeting held April 17th, 1972:

Whereas the Nipissing Riding Association believes that discussion and debate are the basic requirements of the New Democratic Party and,

Whereas the democratic structure of the NDP provides for all delegates to participate in policy debate at regular conventions, therefore,

Be it resolved that whenever decisions are reached at conventions, such decisions shall be considered the policy of the party and,

Be it further resolved that all members of the party should be governed accordingly and work together to bring about the implementation of these policies and, be it further resolved that all releases to the media by members of the party reflect the policy of the party.

Lynne Mephram,  
Secretary, Nipissing Riding

April 17, 1972



JOHN HARNEY. He and other NDP members signed the compromise resolution which appears below.

### John Harney and others

We believe that there are a great number of people in the New Democratic Party who are neither members nor opponents of the Waffle Group. We also believe that these people do not all have a particular ideological complexion and can be either of the right or the left, whatever these terms might mean to those who like to use them.

We know that their basic commitment is to the creation of an independent, democratic and socialist society in Canada through a party that is open, responsible, humane and dedicated to challenge and replacing corporate capitalism and its servant, liberal brokerage politics, with the co-operative commonwealth through a broadly-based people's party.

Most of us are ardent nationalists. We do not enjoy being told that we are not because we are not members of the Waffle Group. Most of us believe that socialism cannot be achieved without the active support of working people through the agency of their institutions, organized and politically-oriented labour. We resent being told that we are disloyal to the goals and means of a labour party

because we are willing to countenance, pay heed to, and, when they merit it, welcome and adopt new and differing views.

It has been said that some members of the Waffle do not have the best interests of the Party in mind. It has also been said that some of their opponents have been less than wise in their response to the presence of the Waffle. But we are not interested in awarding blame or praise in this situation, and we insist on believing that most persons on both sides of the issue have been motivated by what they felt to be the good of the Party and the movement.

We believe that the Party is now being presented with a terrible set of alternatives and we do not want to be forced to choose between them. That is why we insist that the Party as a whole give active and deliberate consideration to the following proposal which we feel is compatible with the nature and constitution of the Party and the declared goals of the Waffle Group.

We propose that the Waffle establish itself as a group autonomous from the Party and that the Party accept its af-

filiation to the Party. This approach would permit those who believe that the Waffle has a singular contribution to make to the cause of socialism to join with that group to advance views, hold conferences, publish statements and papers in the legitimate hope that their efforts would influence the community, but not permit them to maintain a continuing opposition structure within the Party. In turn, the Party would not be called on to be answerable for the views and expressions of the Waffle Group as such.

Membership in the Waffle Group would be compatible with membership in the Party. Just as the affiliated labour movement and the Party are related but autonomous as institutions, so would the Waffle and the Party always be free to choose whether or not the broad compatibility of their goals requires and merits the advantages and obligations of affiliation.

We know that this proposal is not worked out in detail. But we believe that the active and serious consideration we call for above will provide the ground on which a resolution can be reached

and refined through the process of debate and accommodation.

Some members of the Waffle may see in this proposal nothing more than an artful dodge. A few of their opponents may see it as a free ticket for what they fear will be further infiltration and subversion as they see it. We cannot possibly, nor will we try, to meet these objections.

We only know that many in the Party have stopped reasoning with each other and that feelings have taken the upper hand. That is why we now ask all members of the Party to give this proposal their quiet and concerned consideration. Even if the proposal proves inadequate, at the very least the respite its consideration will have provided will have been worth while.

If we stop shouting, we may perhaps get to hear each other.

John Harney  
Wally Majesky  
Karl Jeffary  
Robert Beardsley  
Jack Elwert  
Bill Murdoch  
Bruce Hodgins  
Desmond Morton  
Walter Pitman  
David Hall  
Barbara Beardsley  
and other members of the  
New Democratic Party

## ...COMPROMISE

**John Harney  
and others**

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and other members of the  
New Democratic Party

## *Conclusion of the Waffle Statement from page 4.*

What must be made absolutely clear is that the report if adopted will become the instrument for a purge of Waffle supporters from the NDP. To all the thousands of party members who see this as a disaster for the party, the time is NOW to become involved.

This means that party members, whether Waffle supporters or not, should come forward with ideas for bringing our party together. For its part, the Waffle group has produced a major brief on the situation in the party. Anyone seeking information on the position of the Waffle group can write to me at 900 Greenwood Avenue, Toronto.

The Waffle group will not disband and give up its efforts to contribute to the party and the Canadian socialist movement. Party members who wish to avoid a purge should urge their ridings and affiliated locals to oppose the executive recommendation.

(June 4) (June 1972)

# CRISIS in the NDP

## ...A PUBLIC MEETING

### A statement from 15 metro ridings

There is a crisis in the New Democratic Party; a crisis that has crystallized around the issue of the Waffle in the Party.

Some have interpreted this crisis as the result of defects in the party structure. Some have focussed on differences over the basic nature of a socialist program for Canada.

But many party members are confused by the meaning of the crisis, frustrated by the lack of a forum for a clear and open discussion of this crisis and unsure of the means of resolving it.

To provide a greater opportunity for party members to become informed and involved in the dialogue and to help give direction to the Provincial New Democratic Council meeting of June 24th and 25th, the organizations listed below are convening a conference to deal with the crisis in our Party.

**ENDORISING RIDINGS:** Bellwoods, Don Mills, Dovercourt, Downsview, Eglinton, High Park, Parkdale, Riverdale, St. Andrew--St. Patrick, St. David's, St. George, Scarborough Centre, Scarborough East, York--Forest Hill, York Mills.

**Chairman:** KARL JAFFRAY, NDP Alderman, National NDP Vice-President

### Principle Speakers:

GORDON VICHERT, President of the ONDP, Chairman of the committee of the executive on the responsibilities and obligations of party members

JAMES LAXER, NDP candidate in York East, member of the ONDP Executive, Waffle spokesman

with a panel of: Barbara Beardsley, St. Andrew--St. Patrick executive  
Ed Boucher, member of CBRT & GW  
Desmond Morton, ONDP executive  
Chris Smith, Don Mills executive

**Place:** BATHURST STREET UNITED CHURCH, one block south of Bloor

**Time:** SUNDAY, JUNE 4th--10am to 5pm

**Schedule:**

10:00--11:15am	Statements from Gordon Vichert and James Laxer
11:15--12:30pm	Discussion by the panel and from the floor
12:30--1:00pm	Lunch, available at the Church
1:00--2:00pm	Workshops
2:00--5:00pm	Plenary session

DAYCARE WILL BE PROVIDED, PLEASE PHONE BECKY KANE AT 929-5465

All NDP'ers are invited, please come and participate!

*This is the basis for a compromise proposal as endorsed by the June 4th meeting of 15 Metro ridings. (H.G.M. 21/6/72)*  
"This is the basis for a compromise proposal as endorsed by the June 4th meeting of 15 Metro ridings. (H.G.M. 21/6/72)"

The following proposed statement for Provincial Council was drafted this afternoon on the basis of conversations arising out of this meeting. It is submitted for endorsement by the meeting.

"Council recognises the importance of constructive dialogue and democratic debate within the NDP and therefore reaffirms the right of individual NDP members and of informal groups within the party to work for change in the policies, leadership and structures of the Ontario New Democratic Party. But it also wishes to establish more precisely the responsibility of NDP members and of such groups to work within the party's democratic, constitutional structures, and not to allow internal conflicts of opinion to confuse and overshadow, in the public's mind, our fundamental disagreement with other parties and with the capitalist system.

"Council recognises that all sections of the party are in need of guidelines at this time. It also recognises that any new guidelines must be interpreted in a spirit of trust and goodwill if the breaches in the party are to be healed.

"Council therefore adopts the following guidelines of responsibility for all Ontario New Democrats:

"I. We affirm the right of like-minded people within the NDP to form a caucus and to maintain communication with the members of that Caucus. A provincial steering committee of such a caucus should be defined not as a formal opposition to the party leadership but simply as a necessary means of co-ordination and of communication between the caucus and other party members. Any informal group within the party should, however, accept majority decisions of the party and should conduct itself as an internal caucus whose efforts are directed to action or to policy resolutions by duly constituted organs of the party.

II. A caucus within the NDP should be allowed to raise funds for the purpose of communicating with Party members, but should not hire a separate organiser, or canvass for members in the public - except, of course, signing up members for the NDP.

III. There should be a permanent moratorium on all personal attacks in the media or in public by members of the party on other members of the party. If any member of any wing or caucus of the NDP breaks this moratorium, he should be subject to party discipline.

IV. Caucuses may organise public meetings, conferences or demonstrations provided they are under the sponsorship or of appropriate organs in the party; proposals for such meetings, etc. should of course be channelled through the party at the appropriate level.

V. Communications within the party, especially within through the New Democrat, must be accessible to all wings, groups or caucuses within the party. Party funds and the resources of the Provincial office should be as far as possible neutral resources, available to all members of the party. Consequently, individuals and caucuses should not publish statements or hold press conferences likely to confuse the public about the policies and direction of the NDP. Particular care should be taken with any statements made in a known or expected election period.

*Labor Challenge - found in June 1972)*

# Editorials

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## Defend Waffle caucus

On June 4, 15 Metro Toronto NDP ridings are meeting in an all day conference to discuss the move by the leadership of the Ontario New Democratic Party to push the Waffle out of the party.

The NDP executive has demanded that the Waffle, which it says is a "party within a party" disband or get out, and is conducting an all out campaign in the ridings and affiliated union locals to get its position adopted by the June 24-25 Provincial Council meeting in Orillia.

A "compromise" solution is now being circulated through the party. It calls for affiliated status for the Waffle, and is attracting support from New Democrats who see it as a reasonable middle position. One of the prominent individuals behind the petition is former ONDP secretary John Harney. Harney was a key figure in expulsion of socialists from the ONDP in 1967.

Affiliated status for the Waffle means that the Waffle as an organized force would be out of the party. As an organization outside the party it would then have to apply for affiliation — that is the right to send delegates to NDP conventions. It would be banned from organizing as a force — that is, a caucus — within the party. New Democrats who support the Waffle program would have to join an organization outside the party.

But the views of the Waffle are shared by thousands of New Democrats across Canada. Since its inception three years ago the Waffle has become a focus for a broad opposition within the party around an anticapitalist program that challenges the bankrupt reformist program of the NDP leadership. The affiliation "compromise" is a blow against the right of these New Democrats to organize in the party to win the party to their views.

Witch-hunts against socialists and attempts to limit party democracy are not new. But this time the stakes are higher. The leadership is out to ban the socialist view from the NDP altogether.

The June 4 conference must give clear direction. The attack on party democracy must be turned back. The right of socialists and all New Democratic Party members to put forward their views must be defended. There is only one solution. The conference must demand an end to the witch-hunt and support the right of the Waffle to remain in the party.

# Recommendation to outlaw Waffle rejected by 15 Metro-area NDP groups

By JOHN SLINGER

About 300 Metro-area new Democrats yesterday voted overwhelmingly against a recommendation of the provincial executive that would outlaw the Waffle wing as an official organization within the

But the meeting of members from 15 Metro ridings failed to make many yards toward their expressed objective of finding a compromise that would leave the Waffle and the general membership at peace.

Provincial president Gordon Vichert of Hamilton said that while the vote must be taken seriously it represents nothing more than an expression of opinion. He said he does not believe it accurately reflects NDP feeling across the province.

The whole thing will come to a head June 23 when the party's provincial council meets at Orillia to consider the fate of the radical, ultra-nationalist wing.

The recommendation that it be dissolved comes from the provincial executive as a result of a study by a three-man party task force who felt that the long-term existence of a group with the "expressed purpose of securing fundamental changes in the strategies, structure, leadership,

policies and principles of the party" is hurting the party as a whole.

While yesterday's vote at the meeting in Bathurst Street United Church appeared to support the Waffle, it was described by many as actually being a strong stirring in the party's centre—which sees the Waffle to the left and the executive to the right.

The concern of the centrists is that to expel the Waffle is to lose not only the "creative tension" that some feel it provides but, to possibly cripple

the party. They want to stave off the ultimate confrontation that would come if the executive's recommendation is accepted at the provincial meeting.

As Barbara Beardsley, wife of the NDP candidate for the federal riding of Spadina, said yesterday: "Let's keep talking, let's not blow ourselves apart."

In the course of seven hours of talking, the meeting heard most of the outstanding compromises being proposed. Between the status quo and out-

lawing, they range from affiliation to a series of guidelines as to how the Waffle should behave within the party that would stop it short of becoming an entity and power source unto itself.

The battle to date has been characterized by public ill-feeling and name-calling between the leadership of the provincial party and the leadership of the Waffle.

Yesterday's meeting was directed by Karl Jaffary, a To-

NDP — Page 2

MONDAY, JUNE 5, 1972 (Globe & Mail)

## NDP Waffle vote

● From Page One

ronto alderman, who says he feels no particular affection for either side in the dispute but wants to keep the party together.

Afterward, Mr. Jaffary said he believed the meeting demonstrated "an obvious desire in the party to avoid anything that requires great explosions." The mechanism for doing this has not been found, "but the will is there."

He considered "the strong desire" on the part of the meeting to find a compromise "an important first step."

Toward the end of the session, a motion was passed recommending that the provincial council not vote on the matter on June 23, but explore party feelings and present the question at the party's next convention, expected in the fall.

Mr. Vichert told the meeting that a party whose natural enemies are outside—the Liberals and Conservatives—cannot afford to have a permanent internal opposition which "polarizes opinion and monopolizes dissent."

He said he believes that the executive recommendation is not a purge, merely an effort to eliminate a parallel internal structure. Current Waffle members would be welcome to remain and work for their ideas as before.

The Waffle sees it otherwise. Melville Watkins, NDP candidate in Parkdale and a Waffle founder, said: "This party is deeply polarized. The Waffle is seriously committed to finding a solution and the president and executive of the party are determined to split the party."

Mr. Watkins said a personal tour of ridings in the province indicates to him that the feel-

ing on the local level is two-to-one against the executive proposal.

Mr. Vichert, who claims to be closer to party feeling, said that 55 per cent of delegates from riding associations will support the executive motion as will 75 per cent of delegates from affiliated trade union locals.

He said that passing the resolution will not bring a wholesale Waffle exodus from the party.

However, Stephen Penner, who ran a narrowly beaten Waffle-NDP campaign in Dov-

ercourt last October, said that if such a resolution is passed, the Waffle will refuse to disband and the executive will have no choice but to begin expelling its members. He said there will always be some form of opposition within "a democratic socialist party" and to expel the Waffle now would leave "a moribund party."

James Laxer, another Waffle founder and the man who ran second to David Lewis for the national party leadership, told the meeting that in the CCF-NDP traditions of the party it has always been legitimate to debate principle and try to change the direction of the party.

The thrust of the 1969 Waffle manifesto was to move the party to the left and to fight foreign takeover of the economy.

Mr. Laxer told a questioner it was "false to look at the Waffle as a kind of opposition group inside the party."

He said that "as the party moves through this crisis of rethinking and a consensus emerges, factionalism will cease to exist." The Waffle "reflects a political reality,

not a sort of structural invention."

He proposed a compromise to keep the two sides together: the Waffle would stop using the party name on strictly Waffle publications; if it took any public actions it would seek sponsorship from an existing NDP organization; and it would "consider and enter into dialogue with anyone in the party who has proposals for solving the present crisis."

Mr. Watkins said that should be sufficient solution to the problem. In an interview he said affiliation of the Waffle to the main party "is distinctly inferior" to the Laxer proposals "but still superior to a purge."

But he told the meeting: "If there is one group of people in this party that seems absolutely determined to prevent an accommodation, it's the executive and Gordon Vichert."

KENNETH BAGNELL

# The Waffle

There is slim but honest optimism that the NDP, so torn within, may be on the way to a degree of reconciliation. That is about all one can say, but even that is a gain, given the ugly depth of its division. The wound is so bad that when members of the party met on Sunday to think about their differences, the chairman began by requesting that they speak civilly to one another. That meeting did not end with any resolution of special consequence but it was an important day all the same, for it gave about 600 people, mostly Waffle, a chance to reflect with their adversaries before the fateful meeting in Orillia June 23, when the real confrontation comes. On that day, if the provincial executive has its way, the Waffle will be dissolved, which is a tactful way of saying it will be expelled. There is now a possibility, perhaps a probability, that one of two things will happen before the Orillia meeting. First, the provincial council may simply set aside the motion to disband the Waffle, at least until after the federal election. Or secondly, and more likely, it will formulate an outright compromise, now that the Waffle leadership itself has promised to be less public. That promise, made by James Laxer, is quite simple: the Waffle will stop acting like a party within a party. It will cease taking action on its own and will seek to have its strategies sponsored by an NDP riding association so that they emerge as authentically NDP. In addition it will take the NDP label off any booklet that is doctrinaire Waffle.

This now leaves the next response up to the party's hierarchy, who following the weekend meeting, showed little sign of tempering their original contention that the Waffle must disband. We may expect however that before Orillia there will be more charity and it will come, surprisingly, from on high, from the offices of David and Stephen Lewis.

We may expect from Stephen Lewis, within the next two weeks, statements that will set the stage so that the meeting to come will be a time of concord not discord. Stephen in turn will be reflecting the views of David and both will be reflecting the views of some labor leaders who are concluding that rapport must be found.

David Archer, head of the Ontario Federation of Labor is one such man and others, Dennis McDermott and William Mahoney, are coming around. Naturally, they despise the Waffle's performance, but weighing it against alternatives, they prefer it inside the party, its strategy tempered, to an exodus of hundreds of members, a split party and a demoralized socialist movement.

It will be an extremely painful accommodation, but it will be made and indeed ought to be, not merely for the sake of the NDP, but of our politics. Better a faction checked by the discipline and philosophy of a party, than one left to its own devices outside. The labor movement and David and Stephen Lewis must swallow hard and act on the words of Walter Lippmann back in 1934: "There is no way of arranging it so that membership in a party is an exclusive privilege enjoyed only by those whose views seem to us sound, pure and righteous."



James Laxer

## Watkins vows to resign if Waffle is forced out

Special to The Globe and Mail

SAULT STE. MARIE — Waffle leader Melville Watkins said last night he and his group, plus others who are unaligned, will resign from the New Democratic Party if the Waffle group is forced to disband at a provincial council meeting on June 24 and 25.

He blamed provincial leader Stephen Lewis for the split in the party.

He said in the Soo last night labor leaders are far more in-

fluential in the party than his group.

Donald MacDonald, former provincial leader and now federal president of the party, said at a meeting here that delegates to the provincial council will be asked to support a motion expelling the Waffle group.

He said the NDP cannot exist as two separate groups and urged Mr. Watkins and his followers to remain active within the framework of the party but not as a Waffle group.

## David Lewis feels showdown had to come

From our Ottawa bureau

OTTAWA — David Lewis, federal New Democratic Party (NDP) leader, said last night the clampdown by the Ontario NDP on the ultra-nationalist Waffle group was "inevitable."

"I warned the Waffle a long time ago about the problems that would arise if they continued to organize as a separate party," Lewis said in an interview.

But Lewis was unwilling to discuss the future of Waf-

file leaders, such as James Laxer and Mel Watkins, who have already been chosen as NDP candidates for the next federal election. Laxer, a York University political science professor, is the NDP candidate in York East. Watkins, an eco-

nomics professor at the University of Toronto, the candidate in Parkdale.

"As long as they are members of the party, and chosen by a duly constituted nominating convention, they are candidates," said Lewis,

who fought off Laxer to win the national NDP leadership last year.

However, the decision the Ontario NDP provincial council is to rule next month on is an executive recommendation to dissolve the Waffle.

(Toronto Star)

The following resolution was passed at a general membership meeting of Carleton East New Democratic Party Constituency Association on June 12th, 1972.

A. The Carleton East Constituency Association rejects the Vichert et al REPORT TO PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE, and urges that it be withdrawn from the Provincial Executive or be rejected by the Provincial Council.

B. The Carleton East Constituency Association endorses in principle the following resolutions and urges its adoption by Council. Council recognizes the importance of constructive dialogue and democratic debate within the NDP and therefore reaffirms the right of individual NDP members and of informal groups within the party to work for change in the policies, leadership and structures of the Ontario New Democratic Party. But is also wishes to establish more precisely the responsibilities of NDP members and of such groups to work within the party's democratic, constitutional structures, and not to allow internal conflicts of opinion to confuse and overshadow, in the public's mind, our fundamental disagreement with other parties and within the capitalist system.

Council recognizes that all sections of the party are in need of guidelines at this time. It also recognizes that any new guidelines must be interpreted in a spirit of trust and good will if the breaches in the party are to be healed.

Council therefore adopts the following guidelines of responsibilities for all Ontario New Democrats:

- I. We affirm the right of like-minded people within the NDP to form a caucus and to maintain communication with the members of that Caucus. A provincial steering committee of such a caucus should be defined not as a formal opposition to the party leadership but simply as a necessary means of co-ordination and of communication between the caucus and other party members. Any informal group within the Party should, however, accept majority decisions of the Party and should conduct itself as an internal caucus whose efforts are directed to action or to policy resolutions by duly constituted organs of the party.
- II. A caucus within the NDP should be allowed to raise funds for the purpose of communicating with Party members, but should not hire a separate organizer, or canvass for members in the public-- except, of course, signing up members for the NDP.
- III. There should be a permanent moratorium on all personal attacks in the media or in public by members of the Party on other members of the Party.
- IV. Caucuses may organize public meetings, conferences or demonstrations provided they are under the sponsorship of appropriate organs in the Party; proposals for such meetings, etc., should, of course, be channelled through the Party at the appropriate level.

V. Communications within the Party, especially within or through the New Democrat must be accessible to all wings, groups or caucuses within the Party. Party funds and the resources of the Provincial Office should be as far as possible neutral resources, available to all members of the Party. Consequently, individuals and caucuses should not publish statements or hold press conferences likely to confuse the public about the policies and direction of the NDP. Particular care should be taken with any statements made in a known or expected election year.

C. Council should direct the constitution committee of the Executive to give immediate consideration to proposals for constitutional changes submitted to this committee and that these proposals be brought before the Provincial Convention of 1972.

D. Executive should recommend to Council the appointment of committees of Council:

- (a) To consider ways and means of improving internal party communications and official publications and stimulating participation in the decision-making processes of the Party by members for all regions of the province and all levels of the Party.
- (b) To review the relationship of the trade union movement to the Party, and in particular, to recommend ways and means of securing greater participation by affiliated members in the Party.
- (c) To develop an active and relevant educational program within the Party.
- (d) To consider the advisability of allowing affiliated organizations to provide the Party with paid organizers.
- (e) To consider the relationship between the parliamentary caucus of the Party and the Party as a whole and their accountability to the Party as a whole.

(Beaches-Woodbine Resolution)

(1972-Orillia June 24/25)

The following resolution was passed at the General membership meeting of the Beaches-Woodbine NDP on June 15, 1972.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED

1. We assert the right to groups to exist within the Party for the purpose of discussing policy, critically if they so desire. Implicit in such a right is the responsibility to be accountable to the Party through its existing structures of constituency organizations and of the elected councils and conventions of the Party.
2. It is our view that public statements should not be made which have not been taken to the membership of the Party as a whole through its usual democratic structures. In particular, statements should not be made which are in contradiction of the fundamental policy decisions of conventions. There should be two exceptions to this general rule:
  - i announcements with respect to policy provisions would be proper if made prior to decision-making events, such as Provincial Council meetings and Party conventions.
  - ii individuals and groups are entitled to defend themselves from a public attack.
3. It is wrong for any group to attack and undermine the fundamental structure of the Party. This structure expresses an effort to arrive at a working compromise with organized labour. In such working partnership it is necessarily implied that the other partner should not seek to interfere with the internal affairs of the other or undermine its leadership and policies. Sweeping attacks on international unions are not consistent with this working partnership which is essential to the effectiveness of a democratic socialist party such as ours.
4. On the question of extra-parliamentary activities, we agree that persons and groups within the Party should have the freedom to conduct such activities on their own if they so wish but only after seeking to work through the Party through its constituency organizations and provincial and federal Party structures.
5. None of the foregoing is intended to imply that members in the Party cannot get together for the purpose of advocating new policies, seeking to amend the constitution of the Party and seeking through regular channels to secure new leadership if they so desire. It does imply, however, the acceptance of reasonable restraints in respect to activities which would create in effect a party within a party.
6. We therefore ask our delegates and the other members of Council to steer a course between calling for the immediate disbandment of the Waffle on the one hand and the continuance of the present unsatisfactory situation on the other.

We would regret any course that led to the expulsion or withdrawal from the Party of members who are loyal to the principles of the Party and are willing in the interests of the Party to forego activities which are disruptive.

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Yours very truly

Martin A. Sarra

Secretary

Beaches-Woodbine Riding

June 19th, 1972

Ontario Waffle,  
P. O. Box 339,  
Station E,  
Toronto, Ontario.

Dear Waffler:

On the eve of the Provincial Council Meeting, we are writing to you with an up-dating of our position.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter sent to all council delegates. In it you will find three resolutions passed at the last Steering Committee Meeting held in Toronto on Sunday, June 18th. As well, we decided to communicate to Wafflers the following resolution:

"The Waffle does not support any compromise which is any more restrictive than those decided at to-day's Steering Committee Meeting. If a more restrictive motion is passed at Orillia, we will reserve any decision as to our response until a full Waffle delegate conference to be held after Orillia."

Regardless of the Council outcome, the Waffle will hold a conference within a month of the Council Meeting. At that time, our position will be fully discussed and major decisions made.

In the meantime, for all of you who are coming to Orillia, the Waffle Steering Committee will meet both Friday and Saturday at the Orange Hall, 76 Mississauga West (main business street in Orillia). On Friday, the meeting will begin immediately following the ONDP executive meeting. This could make it very late since the Executive Meeting does not get underway until 8 p.m., but someone will be in the Hall from 7.30 p.m. on, so feel free to drop in.

On Saturday morning, the Council Meeting begins at 9.30 a.m. at the Orillia & District High School, and the first item on the agenda is the Waffle. All New Democrats may attend the Council.

Our current situation shows that we have strong support from riding members. Almost all delegates have been canvassed personally. Waffle spokesmen have addressed several dozen riding associations and almost all of our 10,000 briefs have been distributed to party members. We have made every effort to contact delegates from affiliated unions where, quite candidly, our support is not so strong.

Many compromises have come forward, but at this moment, none have really jelled. It is still an open question as to what will happen on the Council floor on Saturday. We have engaged in a tough, open struggle. The Waffle has never been stronger and more united than it is to-day.

For Socialism & Independence

*Kelly Crichton*  
Kelly Crichton,  
For the Ontario Waffle Steering  
Committee

Ontario Waffle,  
P.O. Box 339,  
Station E,  
Toronto, Ontario.

June 19th, 1972

TO: ALL PROVINCIAL COUNCIL DELEGATES

Dear Delegate:

In this last week before the Provincial Council Meeting in Orillia, we are writing to you on behalf of the Ontario Waffle. In the three months since the Oshawa Council Meeting, and particularly since the release of the Executive Report (published in the last issue of the New Democrat), the Waffle has conducted an intensive campaign to put its case before all members of our Party and to gauge the extent of support for the right of the Waffle to exist as an organized grouping within the NDP.

From all evidence, rank and file party members across the Province have no desire to see the Waffle disbanded or purged. Many New Democrats have indicated a desire for a compromise which would allow the Waffle to continue to exist and to function but which would minimize tensions by setting our "rules of behaviour".

Most of you, we hope, will have seen our brief to the ONDP hearings, published in tabloid form, and our reply to the Executive Report by Jim Laxer in the last issue of the New Democrat. These two documents present the case for the Waffle and attempt to offer constructive suggestions for the democratization of the Party.

In the last few weeks, in an effort to move towards an accommodation that most, if not all, New Democrats could accept, the Waffle has made the following statements regarding its future activities within the Party:

1. That the Waffle engage in extra-party public activities only with the endorsement of a properly constituted body of the party.
2. That press conferences should not be held by groups within the party which are in contradiction to the fundamental policy decisions of conventions. There should be two exceptions to this general rule:
  - a) announcements with respect to policy provisions would be proper if made prior to decision-making events, such as Provincial Council meetings and Party Conventions.
  - b) individuals and groups are entitled to defend themselves from a public attack.

(2. is from a Beaches-Woodbine resolution supported by Andrew Brewin MP, Toronto Alderman Reid Scott and Bruce Kidd.)

continued/.....2 OVER

June 19th, 1972

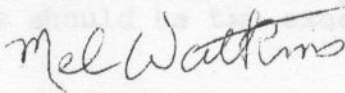
It has become very clear that the most important source of tension within the Party is the breakdown in communications between the Waffle and official union leadership. The Waffle believes that a democratic socialist party must have a strong labour base and very much regrets the present impasse and any contribution it has made to it. In an attempt to clarify its position with respect to the labour movement, the following resolution was passed unanimously at the last meeting of the Ontario Waffle steering committee:

"Whereas the Waffle's attitude and policy toward organized labour has both been unclear and has been misrepresented by many interested groups, be it resolved that we begin the process of clarification with the following:

1. The Waffle supports actively the right of all workers to create, choose and rule their own unions.
2. The Waffle offers its assistance to workers who are on strike or for other reasons seek public support.
3. In supporting the right of Canadian workers to control their own unions, we do not intend to split or damage any existing labour organizations that have the support of their members. The question of how workers achieve greater Canadian autonomy or other structural changes if they so desire, is a question that must be decided by the workers in the unions concerned and cannot be decided by governmental legislation."

We offer these statements in the hope that reason can still prevail on the Orillia Council meeting. We believe that a resolution can be found that is acceptable to the great majority of New Democrats and that the Party can come out of Orillia ready to take on, in a united way, the Trudeau Government and the foreign corporations.

Yours in socialism



Mel Watkins,  
For the Ontario Waffle

The following resolution was passed at a general membership meeting of the Riverdale New Democratic Party Riding Association on June 21st, 1972.

The Executive Recommendation of May 6th was based on evidence about the relationship between the Waffle and the Party which in effect disclosed the existence of a party within a party. This was clear from the independent public activities of the Waffle and from its role as a continuing unofficial opposition within the NDP.

Because ~~the~~ <sup>and</sup> the existence of such a group inevitably confuses the public, ~~the~~ artificially polarizes internal party discussion, the Executive considered the continued existence of the Waffle group within the party to be unacceptable.

In the discussion which has developed within the party since that action, however, it has become apparent that the Executive action has been widely misinterpreted as suppression of legitimate dissent. Proposals have been presented within the past weeks by numerous individuals and groups of concerned party members. Some of these proposals have been incorporated in spirit in the resolution which follows.

1. The present structure and behaviour of the Waffle cannot continue.

2. It is contrary to the spirit and meaning of the constitution of the ONDP for any group within the party to assume a public identity with a name distinct from that of the party. The Waffle is such a group and has such a name.

3. Groups of members within the party are, of course, free to co-operate and caucus so long as their role remains non-public. *and consistent with . . . . NDP*

4. This means that public activities may be undertaken only by constituency organizations, the Provincial Executive or Council, or other duly-constituted bodies within the party. Public activities by groups include the holding of press conferences, the convening of public meetings, the initiation of or participation in demonstrations, and the making of public statements about party matters.

5, 6. Same as Recommendations 2 and 3 of original Executive Report.

## Associate Membership

We propose that a new category of membership be established in the Party called "associated membership" and that the constitution be amended to that effect in the following manner:

1. By adding a new part to Article 3 (Membership) providing for a third category of membership beyond "Individual" and "Affiliated", as follows:

### "C - Associated Membership

(1) Associated membership shall be open to organizations whose purpose is the dissemination of political ideas that are compatible with those of the Party and which are not organized to seek public office or power through electoral or other means, providing they undertake to accept and abide by the principles and constitution of the party, and shall not be associated or identified with any other political party.

(2) Such organizations shall apply for associate membership on a provincial basis only.

(3) Application for association shall be made to the Provincial Council but such application can be finally accepted only with the approval of the Council of the Federal Party.

(4) Associated organizations may not use the name of the party or establish and maintain a structure within the party."

2. By adding a new sentence to Article 4 (Constituency Associations), section (4) (which deals with the rights of affiliates to participate in the regular activities of constituency associations), as follows:

"This provision does not apply to associated organizations or their members."

3. By adding a new part to Article 5 (Fees and Dues):

### "C - Associated Members

(1) The per capita fee for associated organizations shall be as set by the Federal Constitution of the New Democratic Party. (Suggest two dollars a year to be shared equally by the Federal Party and the provincial section concerned.)

(2) Associated organizations shall provide the party with a list of their members at the beginning of each membership year and the party shall undertake to send them the New Democrat or like periodical.

(3) A member of an associated organization may become an individual member upon the payment of the difference between the annual per capita fee paid on his or her behalf and the prescribed individual membership fee."

4. By changing Article 6(7) (Representation at Provincial Conventions) to provide for representation of associated organizations on the same basis as affiliated organizations, as follows:

Add the words "and associated" after the word "affiliated" and strike the word "affiliation" from the fourth line.

5. By adding to Article 8(1) (Make-up of Provincial Executive) a new sub-section as follows:

"(e) One member elected by each associated organization with a membership of one thousand or more."

6. By adding to Article 9(1) (Make-up of Provincial Council) a new sub-section, as follows:

"(i) One member from each associated organization with a paid up membership in Ontario of five hundred or more."

7. By adding to Article 13 (Discipline) words to section (2) to include associated organizations under the rule making the Provincial Executive responsible for the discipline of affiliated organizations, as follows:

"and organizations associated under Article 3C" after the words "Under Article 3B section (2)."

(The above amendments are proposed in the knowledge that the Constitution Committee is proposing other wide-ranging amendments to the constitution.)

Council recognizes the importance of constructive dialogue and democratic debate within the NDP and therefore reaffirms the right of individual NDP members and of groups within the party to work for change in the policies, leadership and structures of the Ontario New Democratic Party. But it also wishes to establish more precisely the responsibility of NDP members and of such groups to work within the party's democratic, constitutional structures, and not to allow internal conflicts of opinion to confuse the public and overshadow our fundamental disagreement with the other parties.

Council recognizes that all sections of the party are in need of guidelines at this time. It also recognizes that any new guidelines must be interpreted in a spirit of trust and goodwill if the wounds in the party are to be healed.

Council therefore establishes the following rights and responsibilities of all Ontario New Democrats:

I. We affirm the right of like-minded members of the NDP to form a group and to maintain communication with the members of that group. Provided that it operates within the terms of this resolution, a steering committee of such a group should be regarded not as a formal opposition to the party leadership but simply as a necessary means of co-ordination and of communication between the group and other members of the party. Any group within the party must, however, make it clear to the public that it abides by majority decisions of the party and must scrupulously conduct itself as an internal group whose efforts are directed solely to action or to policy resolutions by duly constituted organs of the party.

II. A group within the NDP should be allowed to raise funds for the purpose of communicating with party members, but must not hire a separate organizer nor canvass for members among the public at large -- except, of course, to sign up members for the NDP.

III. Internal groups may not organize public meetings, conferences or demonstrations, etc., in their own name. Proposals for such meetings, etc., must be submitted for sponsorship to one of the appropriate constitutional sections of the party.

IV. Communication within the party, especially through the New Democrat, must be accessible to all members and groups. The resources of Provincial Office must be neutral resources, available as far as possible to all members of the party. Consequently, individuals and groups must not hold press conferences nor publish statements contradicting, or likely to confuse the public about, the policies and direction of the NDP. Particular care must be taken with statements

MADE IN A KNOWN OR EXPECTED ELECTION PERIOD.

V. There must be an immediate end to all personal attacks in the media or in public by members of the party on other members of the party. If any member of the NDP or an affiliated organization deliberately breaks this rule he shall be subject to party discipline.

RIVERDALE

(Found in June 1972)

supporters be expelled. We urge the ONDP council to oppose the executive recommendation.

Name	Address	Riding or Affiliated Local
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(Fixed in June 1972)

## PETERBOROUGH RESOLUTION

The Executive Recommendation of May 6th was based on evidence about the relationship between the Waffle and the party which in effect disclosed the existence of a party within a party. This was clear from the independent public activities of the Waffle and from its role as a continuing unofficial opposition within the NDP.

Because the existence of such a group inevitably confuses the public, and artificially polarizes internal party discussion, the Executive considered the continued existence of the Waffle group within the party to be unacceptable.

In the discussion which has developed within the party since that action, however, it has become apparent that the Executive action has been widely misinterpreted as suppression of legitimate dissent. Proposals have been presented within the past weeks by numerous individuals and groups of concerned party members. Some of these proposals have been incorporated in spirit in the resolution which follows.

1. The present structure and behaviour of the Waffle cannot continue.
2. It is contrary to the spirit and meaning of the constitution of the ONDP for any group within the party to assume a public identity with a name distinct from that of the party. The Waffle is such a group and has such a name.
3. Groups of members within the party are, of course, free to cooperate and caucus so long as their role remains non-public.
4. This means that public activities may be undertaken only by constituency organizations, the Provincial Executive or Council, or other duly-constituted bodies within the party. Public activities by groups includes the holding of press conferences, the convening of public meetings, the initiation of or participation in demonstrations, and the making of public statements about party matters.
- 5.6.7. Same as Recommendations 3,4,5 of original Executive Report.

The following NDP members support these proposals:

Jim Hayes (Ottawa East)	Ed Broadbent, MP
Jim Renwick, MPP	Mike Cassidy, MPP
Gerry Caplan (Executive)	Derek Blackburn, MP
Annabel Patterson (Riverdale)	John Gilbert, MP
Lee Patterson (Riverdale)	Arnold Peters, MP
John Vaileau (St. George)	Jo Surich (Waterloo South)
Andrew Brewin, MP	Anne Valentine (Sault Ste. Marie)
Desmond Morton (Executive)	Roger Pretty (Simcoe East)

June 21st, 1972

Dear Fellow New Democrats:

The activities of the Waffle group within the party have confused the people of Ontario and Canada with regard to the party and its stands on matters of grave public concern, and they have caused severe internal strain within the party and among its most loyal adherents. It has become obvious to most members of the party that this present state of affairs cannot continue.

The Provincial Executive proposal recommending the dissolution of the Waffle, a recommendation which, we believe, was made in good faith but under the intense pressure which has existed in the party over the last several months now, has met with rejection or distaste from a large section of the party and will be understood by the public as a purge at worst or a suppression of dissent at best.

Not only Ontario, but all of Canada, is watching to see how a socialist party can resolve its differences, for many citizens will not put the government of their country in the hands of a party which cannot deal with its own affairs in a decent, humane and effective fashion.

It is essential that a common ground be found, a position with which loyal New Democrats can live even though many may feel the solution to be found is not in the best of all possible worlds. To be a true compromise, it must offer no triumphs and no humiliations. It must bind us together, rather than tear us asunder.

There have been a number of proposals. They can generally be categorized either in the "rules of behaviour" approach or an "affiliation/association" approach. So far, all have failed to obtain a broad and general support by themselves. One of the writers of this letter, Walter Pitman has suggested proposals of both kinds, the other, John Harney, has urged the adoption of the latter kind, but both now come together to appeal to all delegates to seek compromise and be prepared to consider supporting either "rules" or "association" in the effort to find a common ground for all.

Too much of the debate so far has been about symbols and wording and not enough about the reality of what kind of party we wish to have, what kind of party can present itself credibly to the people of Ontario and Canada. We must first decide that this party will live together, and then decide the grounds on which we will do so. To this end, we ask you to support the attached resolution at Council:

Yours sincerely,

WALTER PITMAN AND JOHN HARNEY

## RESOLUTION:

That, rejecting as intolerable both the present state of affairs within the party that has been brought about by the activities of the Waffle group, and the implications of Part 1 of the recommendation put forward by the Executive to deal with the situation, this Council now desires to seek a common ground for all members of the party by deliberating and then deciding on either of the two following approaches to a solution of our present differences:

\* \* \* \* \*

Caucuses of New Democrats must be internal groupings which do not assume a public character that creates a divided image to the electorate. Groups of members of the Ontario New Democratic Party are free to caucus provided that their activities do not parallel the basic structures and functions of the party. Only the legitimate structures of the party, riding associations, area councils, affiliated organizations and the provincial party may carry out public activities such as the convening of public meetings and demonstrations. Continuing groups within the party may not act in a way that confuses the public as to where the party stands. They must refrain from holding press conferences which would mislead the public as to the policies of the NDP. Debate, within the party will always be evident to the public at deliberative meetings of the party.

\* \* \* \* \*

We propose a new category of membership called "Associate Membership" open to organizations whose purpose is the dissemination of political ideas compatible with those of the party and which are not organized to seek public office, providing they undertake to accept and abide by the principles and constitution of the party, and shall not be associated or identified with any other political party. Such organizations may not use the name of the party or establish and maintain a structure within the party. Associated members shall not enjoy the rights of individual members unless they become individual members.

We further propose that matters of fees, representation and discipline with regard to associated members be worked out along the lines of the document (appended) called "Associate Membership".

# Moderates fight NDP purge

*Lewis will skip crisis conference;  
Harney petition calls for Waffle  
affiliate status*

By  
P.M. Mullings

## Party view

"...the Waffle presents a direct and fundamental challenge to the whole structure, direction, purpose and leadership of the party. The Waffle states explicitly that the party in all its aspects has failed, and that therefore a formal continuing structure within the party is necessary to fight for alternative policies, principles and leadership, not only before but between conventions. In effect, the Waffle is claiming the right to a continuing existence as an unofficial formal opposition within the party, in order to take over the party and fundamentally reshape it."

...part of the findings of a NDP committee which studied the Waffle question

## Waffle view

"Without a structure the Waffle could not exist, it could not engage in the political activities that are intended to be creative responses to the real problems that Canadians face. Ultimately, the Waffle must be judged on the basis of the positive contributions that it believes it has made to the building of an independent socialist Canada."

...from a published statement by the Ontario Waffle

Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis has declined to participate in a conference at Bathurst Street United Church on the crisis in the party over the proposed dissolving of the Waffle movement.

Ten Metro riding associations are sponsoring the conference to provide rank and file members with the opportunity to get first hand information about the dispute and to "give direction to the Provincial Council" on what to do about it.

The June 4 conference is one of several methods party members are using to pressure the party leadership and the Waffle to find a solution to the crisis which many NDP moderates believe may wreck the party. A compromise solution involving affiliated status for the Waffle is also being widely supported.

Up to 700 party members from as far north of Metro as Aurora are expected for the conference. Lewis, on behalf of the party leadership, and James Laxer, for the Waffle, were to be the two chief speakers.

However after taking three days to consider his participation Lewis informed the organizers Tuesday night that he will not be taking part. He said his presence would turn the conference into a confrontation "Lewis

and the Unions versus the Waffle."

He said he felt that more than this aspect is involved and that the decision to disband the Waffle had been taken by the party's provincial executive and was not his "baby" to have to defend.

As the Citizen went to press an invitation to replace Lewis was being extended to Ian Deans, the MPP for Wentworth. Besides the two chief speakers the conference will feature a panel of four "moderates" who will give their views on the situation. A discussion from the floor is also planned.

One of the conference's chief organizers said even without Lewis the meeting would give "hundreds of moderates in the party the chance to get the point across to the leadership that there may be mass resignations from the NDP if the Provincial Council goes ahead with the Waffle expulsions."

The Waffle and the party leadership have been at odds since the movement, which advocates more socialistic policies, was formed three years ago. But the dispute reached crisis proportions only during the past few months. At the last Provincial Council meeting in March, Lewis made a major attack on the Waffle and a three-man committee was set up to tour the province and

get riding association opinion on the subject.

The committee reported back to the Executive Committee May 8 with a recommendation that the Waffle be dissolved as soon as possible or its members would face disciplinary action or expulsion from the party.

The report was accepted by a 17-6 vote and the issue gets its next hearing before a Provincial Council meeting to be held June 24-25 in Orillia.

Because Waffle leaders Laxer and Mel Watkins immediately said that the movement intends to continue to exist as an organized group, all debate on the issue has revolved around the effects of any expulsions.

Many party members suddenly were confronted by the fact that through personal action they would have to take a political and moral stand on the Waffle issue. The party has always given great weight to civil libertarian issues and now the problem of the right to free speech and dissent, combined with what is best for the party's political future, struck close to home.

Numerous meetings have been held and the struggle has taken on a three-sided approach.

The party leadership, the majority of the Queen's Park caucus, and the unions affiliated with the NDP are united in the drive against the Waffle.

For their part, there has been no Waffle inclination to disband. Their position is divided between a small group ready to bolt the party and set up a more militant socialist and nationalist party, and the larger segment which wants to seek a compromise solution in order to stay in the NDP.

The third group, the party moderates, in the main are not supporters of the Waffle's ideological or tactical approaches, but they are the most active in trying to arrange a compromise. Many of them say they will quit the party on principle if the Wafflers are expelled.

The moderates' main strategy is to sway the party leadership, particularly Lewis, away from any expulsion move by demonstrating that the NDP will lose much more than the Wafflers and their sympathizers if expulsions take place.

Toward that end the moderates have grabbed on to the "affiliation compromise" as a means to defuse the issue and allow all sides out of the very tough situation. Although only the barebones of the formula have been worked out, the compromise would allow the Waffle to become an affiliate group within the NDP like labour unions are. Wafflers would have the right to membership both in the movement and the party if they so desire.

First presented by Desmond Morton, the party warhorse who in the past two weeks

from p. 1

suddenly shied away from taking the final expulsion kick at the Waffle, the compromise is now being circulated around the province over the signature of John Harney, the third place finisher in last year's federal leadership contest.

Well-known party leaders such as Karl Jaffary and Walter Pittman were early signees of the document which is expected to get thousands of other signatures before being submitted to the party leadership.

The petition mildly attacks both the leadership and the Waffle for their handling

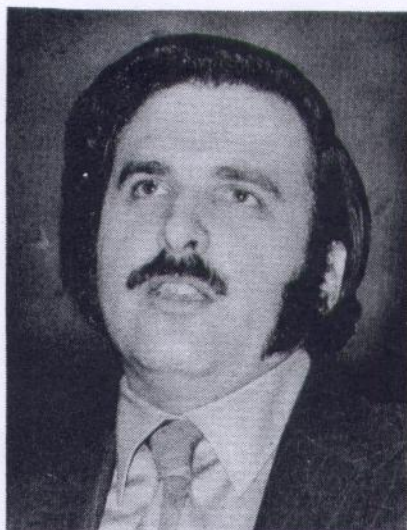
of the dispute and rejects the situation the party now finds itself in:

"... we are not interested in awarding the blame or praise in this situation, and we insist on believing that most persons on both sides of the issue have been motivated by what they felt to be the good of the Party and the movement. We believe that the Party is now being presented with a terrible set of alternatives and we do not want to be forced to choose between them."

→ p. 3



John Harney



Jim Laxer



In happier times: Lewis defeats Pittman for the provincial leadership.

*From p. 2*

The petition sets out a possible affiliation formula in the following manner:

"We propose that the Waffle establish itself as a group autonomous from the Party and that the Party accept its affiliation to the Party. This approach would permit those who believe that the Waffle has a singular contribution to make to the cause of socialism to join with that group to advance views, hold conferences, publish statements and papers in the legitimate hope that their efforts would influence the community, but not permit them to maintain a continuing opposition structure within the Party. In turn, the Party would not be called on to be answerable for the views and expressions of the Waffle Group as such.

"Membership in the Waffle Group would be compatible with membership in the Party. Just as the affiliated labour movement and the Party are related but autonomous as institutions, so would the Waffle and the Party always be free to choose whether or not the broad compatibility of their goals requires and merits the advantages and obligations of affiliation.

"We know that this proposal is not worked out in detail. But we believe that the active and serious consideration we call for above will provide the ground on which a resolution can be reached and refined through the process of debate and accommodation."

No matter how many signatures are collected a possible compromise will depend on the reaction of Lewis and the Waffle.

Lewis, who is known to be more concerned now about defections by party moderates than he was two weeks ago, has told some of the compromise leaders that he "can't see affiliation making any sense" and says the unions won't back it. But at the same time he has indicated that the concept is worth studying in the context of "working something out."

Wafflers interviewed by the Citizen had an almost identical feeling. They are uncertain how the affiliation is to be set up and are therefore cautious in talking about it. But they say it is being considered and could be a solution to the crisis.

The struggle over the Waffle has particular significance for the ridings in the southern part of Metro. Not only do most have a higher than average percentage of Waffle members but many riding officials say that they have been swamped by threats from non-Wafflers to quit the party if the expulsions are carried out.

In nearly all cases the southern ridings submitted briefs to the three-man committee last month opposing the party leadership's handling of the Waffle question.

Don Munro, the President of St. Andrew-St. Patrick riding association which covers part of midtown, said if the expulsions are carried out "it's going to be a disaster for us. We are going to end up with three parties. One representing the Waffle, one the labour unions and one the middle party."

He said many people in the riding, including a number of executive members, see the action as a purge and have said they will resign if the expulsions go through.

One of the casualties would be Bob Beardsley, the recently nominated NDP candidate in the federal riding of Spadina. He will tell a riding meeting tonight that he will leave the party if the expulsions are carried out.

A veteran party worker who has the respect of both sides in the conflict, Beardsley says he "couldn't remain in the NDP if it takes the undemocratic solution to the problem." Beardsley is pushing ahead on a heavy campaign schedule hoping that the Harney petition will have an important effect.

Another party veteran, in Beaches-Woodbine riding, told the Citizen she has expected the expulsion of the Waffle since last year's federal convention where Jim Laxer, the Waffle leadership candidate, embarrassed many people in the party by running second to David Lewis. She said the expulsions would "destroy" her riding association.

Karl Jaffary, one of the three NDP aldermen on City Council and a member of the party's federal council, has told associates he will consider leaving the NDP if any expulsions occur.

One of the few cheerful predictions from the southern front came from former Canadian Army officer David Middleton, the president of St. George riding association. He figures on losing only six of his more active workers and feels that "moderates leaving the party will come back. How long depends on their particular personalities."

Although Middleton and the St. George association have come out strongly against the party taking any action against the "left segment", he summed up the dispute with the following philosophical observation:

"All of us, the Watkins, Laxers and the Lewises, know where we want to be — we just don't know how to get there."

Page 9

*(Unknown publication)*

# Pitman seeks compromise to keep Waffle in the NDP

Walter Pitman, former deputy leader of the provincial New Democratic Party, will co-sponsor a compromise move this weekend aimed at keeping members of the Waffle wing in the party but under strict control and possibly without the name Waffle.

But NDP Leader Stephen Lewis predicts that when 700 members of the party gather in Orillia for the party's provincial council, the resolution by the executive body calling for the dissolution of the Waffle wing will carry.

About 300 delegates and 100 alternates are assembling among the 700 and the fact that Waffle supporters make up about one-third membership indicates a battle is pending over the issue.

The Waffle wing was founded in 1969 by University of Toronto economics professor Melville Watkins, Queen's University history lecturer James Laxer, and Gerald Caplan, once executive assistant to Lewis. Its stance is ultra-nationalistic and it earned the name Waffle from charges by some of its supporters that less militant members were "waffling" in strict socialism.

For the past few weeks there has been furious activity among members of the Waffle wing and moder-

ates seeking some accommodation.

The Wafflers, who offend the party's labor supporters, have offered to compromise and stop making public statements often confused as NDP policy.

Pitman was one of 19 signers of a document, called Peterborough 11, which was hammered out last weekend by "moderates." It calls for dissolution of the Waffle wing and suggests strict regulations to prevent its revival.

Now, Pitman has joined with John Harney, who contested the federal leadership against David Lewis, and together they will present a motion at the weekend gathering asking the party to compromise.

The resolution would seek to keep the Wafflers in the party, but without the name Waffle and without status of associate membership with a structure distinct from the main party.

## Too few passengers Ontario flights cut

LONDON, Ont. (CP) — Great Lakes Airlines Ltd. of Sarnia will reduce its daily flights between London and Toronto to two from five beginning Monday because "there are just too many seats available in London," George Capern, the airline's general manager, said yesterday.

Pitman told The Star today that the Peterborough 11 resolution has been erroneously interpreted as calling for expulsion. But it doesn't, he insisted. He said it seeks to keep the Wafflers in the party but in a less distinct and strident role.

"I don't really care that much which resolution passes," Pitman said. "I am committed to keeping the party together."

Pitman's joining with Harney in a second resolution caused some confusion among the other 19 "moderates" who launched Peterborough 11.

Professor Desmond Morton, of the University of Toronto history department and a member of the NDP federal council, said last night Pitman "is behind Peterborough 11 and assures me he never left it."

Harney was equally emphatic Pitman was with him. Pitman assured The Star today he was with Harney, but not opposed to Peterborough 11.

Meanwhile, NDP Leader Lewis has predicted the Pitman-Harney resolution hasn't "a ghost of a chance."

The Waffle wing will caucus in the Orange Hall in Orillia tonight to decide its own course on the compromise proposed by Pitman and Harney.

EVEN GLOBE (LSA view-ed.)  
AGREES



Globe 6/22/72

Second

## Harsher than hard-line

# Stand by 'moderates' pleases anti-Wafflers

By STANLEY McDOWELL

Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — Hard-line anti-Waffle members of the federal NDP caucus have welcomed a surprise weekend statement by a group of prominent party members who describe themselves as moderates in the conflict between the Waffle and its opponents in the Ontario NDP, party sources said yesterday.

Reaction by riding associations to the statement, regarded by many members as harsher than an earlier report calling for a purge of the Waffle, is shaping up as the crucial factor facing the party's Ontario provincial council meeting this weekend in Orillia.

The statement, signed by all Ontario NDP members of Parliament except leader David Lewis and finance critic Max Saltsman (Waterloo), was produced at a weekend meeting chaired by Desmond Morton, a member of the provincial executive. Other subscribers to the statement were two MPPs, Michael Cassidy and James Renwick, and Walter Pitman, who once sought the leadership of the provincial party.

"As soon as I heard that Des Morton was moderator of it, I felt it could not be called a meeting of moderates," one non-Waffle member of the provincial executive said yesterday.

Andrew Brewin, federal member for Greenwood who endorsed the statement, conceded yesterday that it took a harder line toward the Waffle than he would personally have favored.

But he said press reports were unfair in calling the

statement harsher than an earlier report, already approved by the provincial executive, that calls for a purge of the Waffle.

Ed Broadbent (Oshawa-Whitby), a leadership contender in last year's national convention and a leading supporter of the "moderate" statement, said it has received a favorable response from some NDP labor affiliates and some constituency associations. But he would not identify these supporters.

Among its recommendations the statement called on the party's left wing to abandon the Waffle name; and by laying down tight guidelines for any future caucuses that might emerge within the party it effectively banned emergence of any groups like the Waffle in future.

The statement appeared to doom hopes that some compromise could be worked out among provincial party leader Stephen Lewis, Ontario president Gordon Vichert and Waffle members of the executive in time for a meeting of the executive Friday evening, on the eve of the provincial council meeting.

Late last week both groups hoped a compromise formula could be found to replace the executive report calling for a purge, and provide a basis for a negotiated agreement between the Waffle and the main party organization.

Waffle spokesmen have unanimously pronounced the new statement unacceptable.

"We are prepared to accept some limitation of our activities," Krista Maeots, a leading Waffler on the provincial

NDP executive, said yesterday. "But we will not disown our name. What that amounts to is discrediting yourself publicly."

One federal MP who supported the "moderate" statement said his group's stand had been "reassuring" to party MPs who favor expulsion of the Waffle but are concerned by the widespread opposition in constituency organizations to any form of purge.

But some leading non-Waffle members in the provincial party structure argued that the statement appeared to be an attempt, deliberate or not, to draw this middle-ground sentiment closer to the militant labor spokesmen in the party who have been pushing for the Waffle's expulsion.

Last Sunday a Waffle steering committee meeting reaffirmed a decision made on May 14 that the Waffle will not disband even if the price is expulsion from the party.

Miss Maeots said yesterday that this position will be maintained. What it means for the future of the NDP's socialist wing will be discussed at another steering committee meeting following the party executive meeting in Orillia on Friday, and at a Waffle conference planned for July.

Orillia, Ontario,  
June 24, 1972.

Dear Delegate:

In the current debate about the Waffle's role in the New Democratic Party, it has been suggested that the Waffle contributed to our disappointing performance in the last provincial election. We believe that this claim must be substantiated with hard facts, not subjective judgments and isolated reports, if it is to contribute to rational debate. A perusal of the 1971 election results in Ontario makes us wonder about the justification for blaming the Waffle.

During the last provincial election 6 NDP candidates were supporters of the Waffle group. They were Dan Heap (Toronto, St. Andrew-St. Patrick), Bruce Kidd (Toronto, Beaches-Woodbine), Dave Neumann (Brant), Steve Penner (Toronto, Dovercourt), Garth Stevenson (Carleton), and Jean Usher (Carleton East). The NDP's percentage of the vote in these 6 ridings in 1971 as compared to 1967 was as follows:

	<u>St. A-St. P</u> (Heap)	<u>Beaches-W.</u> (Kidd)	<u>Brant</u> (Neumann)	<u>Dovercourt</u> (Penner)	<u>Carleton</u> (Stevenson)	<u>Carleton E.</u> (Usher)
1971	41.1	39.8	19.4	34.4	20.6	21.4
1967	<u>24.7</u>	<u>43.6</u>	<u>12.4</u>	<u>28.8</u>	<u>16.5</u>	<u>7.1</u>
% change	+16.4	-3.8	+7.0	+5.6	+4.1	+14.3

As can be seen, with the exception of Beaches-Woodbine (Bruce Kidd), the NDP increased its percentage of the vote in the ridings where candidates were Waffle supporters. The increase was well beyond the NDP's overall improvement of 1.3% throughout the province. Although the NDP vote in Beaches-Woodbine decreased by 3.8%, this loss was exceeded in the two ridings on either side of it. The NDP vote in Scarborough West dropped by 9.2 percentage points, and in Riverdale it decreased by 4.7 per centage points. In presenting these figures we are not arguing that the above NDP campaigns were the only one which made significant gains. On the contrary there were many ridings in which the NDP vote increased substantially, but we do not find any evidence in these results to support the contention that the Waffle lost votes for the NDP.

Among the many complaints against the NDP in the last election it is true that some canvassers ran into individuals who raised a question about the Waffle. However it has been our experience that when these voters were talked to at greater length it was almost invariably found that they would not vote NDP in any case. In view of the overall election results we find these selective reports to be unfactual and inconclusive.

The Waffle group which is particularly strong in Saskatchewan certainly did not harm our chances of victory there. And we cannot help wondering if the Waffle would have been blamed for the electoral defeat in British Columbia in 1969, where the NDP's hopes also were very high, had the Waffle existed at that time.

If the Waffle's presence within the NDP is responsible for the party's electoral failures, then it is also difficult to explain the results of the national Gallup poll in June, 1971. The Gallup poll estimates that the highest point in NDP popularity in the last four years--24%--was immediately following the last federal convention when debate within the party was viewed by millions of Canadians on television, radio, and the front pages of the newspapers.

It is difficult to analyze all the reasons why the NDP has not met the electoral success that we have hoped for. But there is no evidence to suggest that the Waffle contributed to our defeat in Ontario. Unless such evidence is forthcoming, we can only conclude that the Waffle is being used as a convenient scapegoat in the present party debate.

Fraternally,

Jack Quarter, Bellwoods Riding  
Gord Laxer, Bellwoods Riding  
Dan Sunstrum, Bellwoods Riding

(Found in June 1972)

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## 'Party slowly splitting'

# Lewis vows to end Waffle's dissension

By JOHN SCOTT  
Globe and Mail Reporter

OSHAWA — In a scathing attack on the Waffle wing of the New Democratic Party, Ontario NDP Leader Stephen Lewis said on Saturday he wanted an end to the dissension and the erosion that are slowly splitting the party.

He told 200 delegates at the party's provincial council that the party could no longer proceed in its present state, torn between the Waffle on one hand and the old party members on the other.

"The shadow boxing must end. And I, for one, want to meet the issue head-on."

He said the Waffle group, headed by James Laxer, who is a candidate in the federal riding of York-East, had created enormous strain within the party because every issue is being fought on a pro- and anti-Waffle basis.

"People in this party used to feel good about each other, but I tell you that this is no longer the case. In many areas and on many occasions there has crept into the party evidence of acrimony. I have attended meetings in the past few months where hurtful and wounding things have seethed to the surface.

"There is also evidence that a strong polarization is under way. Groups within the party are meeting separately and secretly. Nominations are being fought on whether you are a member of the Waffle wing or not."

Mr. Lewis warned the delegates that once solidarity is gone, utter confusion would take over. He said it is indisputable that the Wafflers have already become a party within a party. "In my opinion this cannot work, nor can it last. We are in conflict on almost everything we do. We hold separate press conferences and we have separate membership lists and we make separate membership contributions.

"Ultimately the party will

be the only loser and I didn't assume the leadership of this party to preside over its dismemberment," he said, his voice choked with emotion.

His keynote speech, which he said was the most difficult he had made in his short tenure as leader, came as a result of a resolution submitted by the Hamilton Mountain riding asking for the expulsion from the party of the Waffle group.

"Like many other people in the party, I have lost patience with the Wafflers. I know there as to be a solution. But for me personally, the Hamilton Mountain resolution doesn't satisfy. I understand and sympathize with what spawned it. But its intent, if not its words, runs counter to the gut civil instincts of our party.

"Democratic socialism as a social philosophy is designed to include people, not exclude them, and the prospect of a purge and fratricide has a nightmarish quality about it.

"Yet having acknowledged all this, I am not prepared to end my speech with an on-the-one-hand and on-the-other recital. If there is no ready answer to the problem today in the many resolutions which have been submitted, then surely the provincial executive must view the problem as one of the gravest of matters and deal with it accordingly."

Following Mr. Lewis' speech, Gordon Brigden, the party's provincial secretary, asked the delegates to pass a motion that the Waffle problem be dealt with by the executive before the next council meeting scheduled for June in Orillia.

The motion brought the anti-Wafflers jumping to their feet and for a while it looked as though a real floor fight might develop between the two factions. But the motion did pass and the executive will be reporting in June.

A din erupted when Mr.



Laxer took the microphone. He spoke only briefly however. He said he felt the Waffle groups had been put on trial by the delegates and complained there wasn't time in the three minutes allotted each speaker to answer all the charges.

June 1972  
(Toronto Globe)  
submit to arbitrary measu

(Found in June 1972) (Toronto Star?)

# Politics / Reconciling the extremes within the NDP

By DESMOND MORTON

Are the New Democratic Party and its radical Waffle wing heading for a parting of the ways?

Some people obviously hope so. A resolution from a big Hamilton constituency association, demanding dissolution of the party faction, will be debated at the Ontario NDP's council meeting this month if back-room pressures fail to stop it. On the other side, many delegates at a big Waffle convention in early February openly favored a public split.

With a federal election fast approaching, no serious party wants to expose its divisions. David Lewis has told television audiences that brotherhood and solidarity prevail in the ranks: The only dispute is about how best to carve up the Liberal chicken.

## A rigid smile

The Lewis smile looks a trifle rigid. The facts are that the Waffle has done what it promised after last April's NDP leadership convention; it has gone right on organizing as a separate group in the NDP. It has hired an organizer, published newsletters, raised a substantial budget and issued public pronouncements which have usually won more attention than the party's official utterances. In Ontario the Waffle has made gains—especially among constituency militants who oddly blame the NDP's "moderate" image for a failure to make gains in last October's Ontario election.

The Waffle has also turned its attention on the labor movement. Last April, it was largely trade union votes that turned back Waffle convention resolutions by decisive majorities. Trying to alter the balance, the Waffle has been out hunting for its own trade union friends. It was a foray into United Auto Worker territory that provoked January's public slanging match between Waffle Leader James Laxer and Canadian UAW director Dennis McDermott. Signs are that the Wafflers are finding support, if only among the fringe of militants and elderly revolutionaries who form an opposition chorus in every major local of the big international unions.

Waffle gains have begun to alarm

some moderate NDPers and trade unionists alike. Significantly, the most powerful argument used by Waffle leaders at the recent convention to soothe would-be bolters was that the group would soon be taking over the party. If that happened, moderates feel, most NDP supporters would leave by the other door.

Simply because the NDP represents 10 years of commitment, effort and tender loving care, it is unlikely that the moderates and trade union leaders who brought the party together will allow it to be captured and, in their view, destroyed. On the other hand, Waffle activists are in no mood to accept permanent minority status. Mostly young, middle class and recent converts to radicalism, they had no share in the painful struggles that kept the NDP and the old CCF alive and growing. To them, it is ancient history. Fragmentation, the special enemy of left-wing organizations, is back in fashion, along with a style in violent rhetoric and 1930s Marxism which led some people to term the Waffle "Bonnie and Clyde socialism."

Tensions are acute and growing, particularly between the Waffle and the NDP's trade union supporters. Between younger Wafflers and labor leaders there is a special hostility some attribute to social class, others to the generation gap. Perhaps the most powerful explanation is that both sides are consciously or unconsciously re-running the battles of the 1930s and '40s.

## Pressures for unity

Tensions are high but so are the pressures for unity. In all the 40 years of the CCF-NDP there have been many bitter internal factional battles but there have been no permanent splits. The price has always been obvious—the likely permanent eclipse of any electorally effective party of the democratic left. That price would still have to be paid today.

The exodus of a substantial number of highly articulate and attractive people would give the movement a field day. The same enabled Wafflers to utilize NDP coverage.

years would guarantee that their version of the truth prevailed. It would be in the interest of the NDP's enemies to see that it did.

Moreover, no one could predict how loyalties within the NDP itself might divide. As in most left-wing parties, there is an inordinate deference to intellectual leaders. The departure of a large share of the party's professors, proclaiming persecution, would leave many NDPers demoralized and uncertain.

## One Canadian in five

On the other hand, leading Wafflers have good reason to pause as well. Much of their significance derives from their attachment to a party that gets votes from close to one Canadian in five. As a separate faction, they might well be a nine-day wonder, like Paul Hellyer's Action Canada. Above all, to a degree more moderate NDPers sometimes fail to admit, many of the leaders in the Waffle have a basic commitment to their party. They shrink from the responsibility of shattering the only significant democratic socialist party in North America.

What the NDP needs may be a formula for internal party controversy that could modify, if not eliminate, the charges of "a party within a party" from one side or of "anti-democratic oppression" from the other. The problem is not unique to the NDP. If the Canadian party system is not to become hopelessly fragmented, all of them need machinery for genuine internal debate about ideology and, for that matter, about personalities as well. The public is going to have to learn to live with a little less than monolithic solidarity in its political parties if it wants them to be democratic. However, the parties themselves will have to take responsibility for showing that, divided or not, they can still pull themselves together enough to form a government and carry out policies.

Instead of haranguing each other about purges and expulsions, New Democrats should be debating ground rules for civilized and principled conflict on platform, strategy and leadership. For example, there

should be a severe limitation on money spent to advance a factional cause and full disclosure of its sources. There should be a ban on hiring organizers and on issuing public statements save within an agreed period before a convention or comparable gathering.

Like most ground rules, enforcement would depend on collective feeling more than on legal niceties. The NDP as a whole would have to accept the occasional embarrassment of appearing to the world as it does to its members, a place of argument, friction and occasional folly. It will take even longer for the public to realize that it is not always well served by parties of monolithic solidarity and the NDP must bear some of the cost of that educational process.

However, the rewards would not be small either. In fact, as David Lewis claims, there is a broad agreement about democratic socialism within the NDP even if the tensions of too much self-analysis are greater than he would dare admit. A willingness to allow real, if civilized, argument is now the price for structural unity. Last year's leadership contest, right down to Lewis's own fourth ballot victory and the subsequent acclamation, was a demonstration of how such argument could be carried on.

## Smugness not ill-placed

There would be a wider benefit. NDPers' smugness about their party's internal democracy is not entirely ill-placed. The NDP, like the CCF before it, has had a distinct influence on the internal procedures of other Canadian parties. Finding a way of making the Waffle and other groups work within the party, not outside it, could be as major a contribution to the democratization of the Canadian political process as any the NDP has made in the past.

Desmond Morton is associate professor of history at the University of Toronto, member of the NDP Federal Council and an organizer of the NDP NOW group, which opposed the Waffle Group's policies at the NDP Convention.

## Orillia- the end or the beginning...

# Waffle To Decide At London

The Ontario Waffle will meet at the Belvoir Centre near London August 19-20 to work out its response to the motion passed by the Ontario New Democratic Party Council on June 24, calling on the Waffle to disband. In the five weeks since the NDP council meeting local Waffle groups have been meeting to discuss a number of different options and to elect delegates to the London conference. The editors of this issue of Waffle News, which is being produced by the Ottawa Waffle, have asked a number of Wafflers to contribute articles on the course of action they favour and which they have spoken for at local meetings. Their signed contributions appear on pages 2-3.

### Waffle Under Attack

The provincial council's action at Orillia marked the end of an eight-month campaign period, during which the position of the Waffle in the Ontario party has been under heavy attack. In November 1971, just after a disastrous provincial election in Ontario, Hamilton Mountain riding called for the expulsion of the Waffle from the party. This resolution had the support of important elements in the party from the first, including Ian Deans, House Leader of the NDP in the legislature and Bob MacKenzie, a Steelworkers' organizer on loan to the Ontario party.

At the provincial council meeting in Oshawa in March an unprecedented number of union delegates (95) showed up to support Hamilton Mountain. Stephen Lewis, the Ontario leader, attacked the Waffle in an hour-long speech. The council substituted for the Hamilton Mountain resolution one which instructed the party executive "to prepare a statement outlining the responsibilities and obligations of members to the party", recognizing "the grave anxiety among our

membership at the emergence of a distinct group within the Party, yet with structures and policies separate and different from those of the Party." During April, a three man executive commission held meetings with party members in six Ontario cities. On May 6, the party executive approved the commission's report and recommendations, which compared the Waffle to George Wallaceites of the U.S. Democratic Party and demanded that the Waffle disband or be expelled from the party.

Under the direction of the steering committee and its communications committee, the Ontario Waffle fought the executive report hard in the six weeks prior to the Orillia council meeting. Two major documents - a brief to the three-man Vichert commission and a reply to the Vichert commission report - were prepared and circulated to all ridings and affiliated organizations as well as to the Waffle mailing list. The province was broken down into six areas and a systematic canvass of delegates undertaken by local Wafflers in each area. Ontario Waffle speakers debated Vichert report supporters at dozens of riding meetings in May and June.

### Compromise Sought

The Waffle also went some ways towards meeting the criticisms made by 'centre' people within the ridings. Waffle Steering Committee meetings held at London on May 14 and Toronto on June 17 committed the Waffle in Ontario to a less public role and to a greater emphasis on working within the structures of the party. A steering committee meeting held in Orillia the night before the council meeting decided to ask delegates to vote for a motion from Peterborough riding formulated by John Harney and Walter Pitman which

would have allowed the Waffle to remain within the party as an organized group under a set of rules. A procedural motion to have the Peterborough resolution debated and voted on first was turned down by both the provincial executive and the council itself.

During the actual council debate on Saturday the party leadership clearly showed itself determined to pass the harshest possible motion against the Waffle.

### Vichert--Riverdale

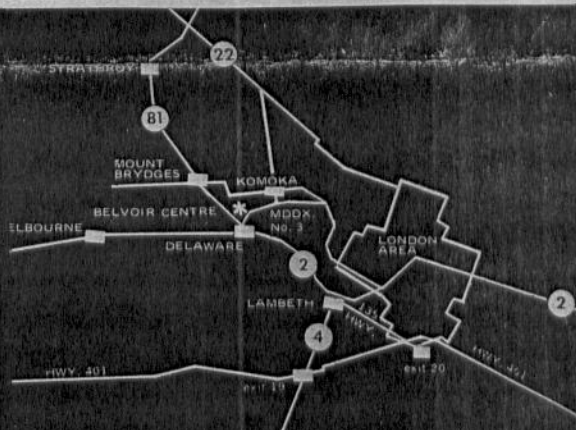
This turned out to be a resolution from Riverdale riding which reaffirmed the conclusions of the Vichert report in its preamble and then declared that "1. The present structure and behaviour of the Waffle cannot continue." The Riverdale resolution drafted originally by a group of "moderates" of which Ed Broadbent was a member then goes on to outlaw even the name "Waffle" from further use in the Ontario party. Speeches from a number of MPs, MPPs and executive members made it clear that the Riverdale motion would be interpreted in the toughest possible way. In a key speech Stephen Lewis said that he supported the Riverdale motion because he did not intend to continue as party leader "with the Waffle forever an albatross around my neck." The Riverdale motion substituted for the original Vichert recommendation in order to get greater riding delegate support passed at the end of the day 217-88.

This vote set up the need for the London Conference. Two Waffle caucus/ steering committee meetings after the Orillia vote set up the mechanisms for the London Conference. Since then the debate among Ontario Wafflers has been hot and heavy and the decision will be made in London.

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## Ontario Waffle Conference August 19-20

BELVOIR CENTRE  
DELAWARE, ONTARIO (NEAR LONDON)



### how to get there

Take exit 19 (Highway 4) north off Highway 401 west of London to Lambeth. Take Highway 2 out of Lambeth (left turn at the traffic lights) to Delaware. Turn right on Middlesex Road No. 3 in Delaware and watch for well marked entrance to Belvoir Centre on the left.

### registration

\$5.00 for all delegates and observers.

### accomodation

\$5.00 per night. Beds for 40 available Friday night, 108 spaces available for Saturday night. Priority will be given to delegates. Information on billets, campsites and motels will be available during registration.

### meals

Lunch and dinner Saturday plus breakfast and lunch Sunday will be available at the Centre at a cost of \$6.50 total per person.

Observers wanting to sleep or take their meals at the Centre during the Conference are asked to contact Jack Blocker, RR 2 Lambeth, Ontario 1-519-471-9925

# Orillia council decision catalyst for controversy

The Orillia Council vote has opened up three topics of hot discussion inside the Ontario Waffle. Wafflers have first of all been divided on what option the London Conference should adopt for the Waffle. Many advocate a "stay and fight" strategy aimed at getting the Riverdale motion upset at the next provincial convention in December. Waffle groups in Ottawa, Kingston, north and west Toronto have on the other hand voted in favour of an option which calls for the formation by Wafflers of a movement for an independent socialist Canada outside the NDP (MISC). Supporters of this option also believe that Wafflers should retain their NDP memberships. Some other Wafflers now advocate a quieter role for the Waffle in the face of Orillia believing that it is best to try to live within the terms of the Riverdale resolution. Individual advocates of the two main positions have developed their views on pages 2-3 of this issue. It appears that two other extreme and entirely opposed options - disbanding the Waffle and staying in the NDP as individuals or getting out of the NDP entirely and starting a new political party - have very limited support. Copies of all resolutions and position papers passed by local Waffle groups will be available at the conference.

## The Position of the Federal Candidates

In addition to other important matters the London conference will also consider the position of Wafflers nominated as federal candidates for the NDP in Ontario. The debate will come first thing Sunday after the conference has decided on one of the options but before it has discussed in detail the implementation of that option.

In the last few weeks some Ontario Wafflers expressed their concern that any decision affecting the Waffle NDP delegates' candidacy might bias the discussion on the various options.

Earlier this year four Wafflers were nominated as NDP federal candidates in Ontario: George Gilks (Hamilton West), Jim Laxer (York East), Ellie Prepas (Trinity), and Mel Watkins (Parkdale). In a letter to Ontario Wafflers dated July 19 the four candidates asked "to urge

your delegates to the Ontario Steering Committee to support the calling of an emergency meeting of that committee to approve our stated desire to resign." Their main reason for wishing to resign was that as principled socialists, they could not represent to the electorate "a party that has chosen to move decisively rightward." They felt that the likelihood of Waffle ideas winning the support of the NDP in the foreseeable future had greatly diminished since the Orillia council meeting, where the formidable powers of the Ontario Party leadership were shown. Their reason for asking for an emergency meeting of the Steering Committee was their view that remaining as candidates was "most unfair to (their) riding associations."

Since the appearance of this letter there have been some important developments. On July 24 five Ontario Steering Committee members: Joe Flexer, Varda Kidd, Jackie Larkin, Donna McCombs, and Steve Penner sent a letter to other members of the Steering Committee which a) criticised the action taken by the candidates in sending their letter of July 19 and b) asking for an emergency Steering Committee meeting which they hoped "will refuse to approve the withdrawal of any candidates prior to our conference."

On August 8 it was announced that George Gilks had withdrawn as a federal candidate in Hamilton West. The announcement of his decision to resign was made at the request of his riding association's executive. In late July Gilks was asked by his riding association executive either to reaffirm his willingness to run or to submit his resignation. A majority of the executive wanted him to continue as a candidate and his resignation was accepted only "with regret." The riding association was not prepared to tie its electoral prospects to a decision the Waffle might make in late August.

The three other candidates have told the Ontario Waffle communications committee that they wish to wait until the London conference for a decision. They have withdrawn their request for an emergency steering committee meeting.

They will abide by the decision of the confer-

ence as a way of maintaining Waffle solidarity.

## Delegate vs. Open Conference

The nature of the Ontario conference has been a third subject of controversy. The 40-member Ontario steering committee of the Waffle voted to make the London Conference a delegate conference at two different meetings (June 17 and June 24). This has provoked some adverse reaction.

In late July three Toronto Wafflers, Norman Feltes, Ron Mayne and Jack Quarter circulated a letter critical of the steering committee decision on the grounds that the greatest number of Wafflers ought to be involved "in the most critical decision" of the Ontario Waffle's history - the London Conference.

The Toronto trio believe that the conference ought to be held in Toronto and that "voting and speaking rights ... must be accorded on an equal basis to all Wafflers who wish to participate. Openness has been the Waffle's strength..." They also argue that "the prior decision by the Waffle's leadership to unite behind option three (forming the political action grouping outside of the NDP) is unnecessarily coercing the debate... (and that)... the leadership of the Waffle are using the threat of the LSA as a bogeyman to close the debate and to win support for their position." Feltes, Mayne and Quarter say that "members of the LSA - and for that matter any other minority factions within the Waffle such as Leninists, New Leftists, Social Democrats and non-aligned Socialists - should be allowed to participate."

Interviewed on the reasons for the steering committee's decision to have a delegate conference Doris Jantzi (chairwoman of the Ontario Waffle's communications committee) said: "A delegated conference is clearly more democratic than a conference open to anyone. Local Waffle meetings at which the delegates have been elected have been open to all NDP members. Observers will be welcome at the conference but delegates will get priority in speaking and they only may vote. Delegates after all represent not themselves but the other Wafflers who have elected them."

## TOWARDS A MOVEMENT FOR AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CANADA

The Waffle today is facing a serious challenge to its existence. This weekend we must face the reality of Orillia - what the ONDP's decision at Orillia means for the future of the Waffle and its struggle for an independent socialist Canada. We must work out a structure within which the ideas of the Waffle will continue to develop and reach out to more Canadians.

Let us look at the current political situation which faces us. Canada is under continuing pressure to be assimilated culturally and economically with the United States. Every day we see extensions of resource deals with the United States - one day a hydro-electric sale from Northwestern Ontario to the U.S., the next day talk of Imperial Oil selling our

northern natural gas to the U.S. The vast water resources of Northern Quebec are being diverted so that hydro-electric power can go to the Eastern States. Vast sums of Canadian money are to be spent in the north so that oil can be piped to the United States without consideration of future Canadian needs or the needs of Canadians who live in the North.

We have seen continuing high unemployment in Canada. As the United States strives to make us a resource base of their industrial complex, we face foreign takeovers and the deindustrialization of Canada. As a resource base, Canada will not be able to provide jobs for its people, nor decide the direction of its own economy.

The present political situation in Canada

underlines the need for an anti-imperialist movement. There is a basis in the reality of Canadian life for such a movement. In the resource towns and the single industry cities, the consciousness of Canadian workers is increasing. In places like Sudbury and Windsor, the response to Waffle ideas has been indicative of the potential.

What has been the institutional response to the growing potential for Canadian independence in a socialist framework?

The Liberal Government has refused to adopt the mildest steps towards Canadian autonomy. It rejected the Gray Report and has instituted as yet no new measures to deal with foreign takeovers. It has ignored the reports

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from the Economic Council of Canada and the Senate which projected continuing deindustrialization for Canada.

### ONDP Rejects Socialism

The ONDP Council at Orillia chose to deal with the politics of an independent socialist Canada with a structural solution. Although varying interpretations were given to the Riverdale Resolution, the intent of the leadership of the party was clear. At Orillia, the Waffle organization and the politics it professes were expelled from the party. The party will continue to fight for small-scale reforms without challenging the capitalist system which is at the heart of the Canadian crisis. For the time being, at least, the ONDP has rejected the road to an independent socialist Canada.

Recent events have then indicated an institutional failure on the part of the ONDP to respond to the potential for an anti-imperialist movement in Canada. We should not see Orillia as a lessening of the potential for the socialist struggle in Canada, but rather the capacity of the ONDP to be the vehicle through which our ideas are expressed has changed.

There are some in the Waffle who argue that we should fight the Orillia decision at the ONDP December Convention. To argue for a fight in convention is to deny the reality of Orillia. The Waffle as an organization expended virtually all of its energies over the past few months fighting for its right to exist as an organized caucus within the party. The

Waffle indicated it was willing to make substantial concessions in order to live in the party. We carried our campaign to ONDPers throughout the province, but the ONDP rejected the right of a left caucus to exist in the party. The decision at Orillia indicated, beyond a doubt, that not enough NDP centrists in Ontario were willing to fight for our right to exist at this time.

What follows from our experience around the Orillia decision?

In order to fight for our right to exist in the party we need a province-wide organization. Orillia, in effect, denied us an organization, for if we insist on retaining our organization in the NDP we will be faced with the consuming effort of fighting expulsion.

While spending our time fighting to remain in the NDP we will be unable to deal with the fundamental political questions which are facing Canada; and after all it was our politics which brought us together. It is to those political issues that we must address our energies.

### Towards a Movement

In order to do the political work that is before us, we must continue to operate in an open and political manner. The vehicle that we propose to carry on the work of the Waffle is a Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada. The movement would not be directly involved with electoral politics (i.e. would not run candidates). It would operate entirely outside the NDP, and would explicit-

ly not be a caucus in the NDP; thus satisfying the demands of the Riverdale Resolution. It would draw many Canadians to it who have been either unwilling to work within the confines of the NDP or will be drawn in by the issues we deal with.

### Much Work to be Done

Such an organization would continue the very important educational and organizational work of the Waffle. The organization would do badly-needed research on resources in Ontario. What quantities of resources remain and how they are being used. It would work everywhere in Canada against the sellout of our country to American corporations. It would co-ordinate provincial campaigns on the resource question, on the destruction of Canadian manufacturing, on destruction of our environment, on branch plant shutdowns and on the American influence in our educational institutions. It would seriously take up the task of organizing women in the workplace. It would help to bring the new ideas of the Quebec labour movement to English Canada. It would set up lecture series throughout the province, hold public conferences and set up strike support committees.

Some analogy can be drawn here with the M.S.A. (Mouvement Souveraineté Association) in Quebec which was founded in the fall of 1967. The M.S.A. was formed because Rene Levesque and others found it difficult to work within the existing political parties. In their

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## social democracy in crisis

# "STAY AND FIGHT"

It is clear that social democracy is in crisis. The nature of that crisis bears heavily on our strategic thinking. The historic role that the Waffle has played in exposing social democracy's contradictions must not be forgotten. While the NDP leadership claimed to represent a party of the 'left', it was unable to respond positively to the growing radicalization of youth, women, and intellectuals that took place during the 60's.

But the NDP as an institution had members and supporters who more clearly understood the reality of Canadian politics and were determined to make the party as a whole come to terms with that reality. The Waffle became the organized expression within social democracy of the general radicalization taking place in the society.

### Waffle/NDP Always Tensions

From the beginning there were many tensions between the Waffle and the present leadership of the NDP. But they escalated rapidly when the Waffle began to challenge the very institutional basis of the NDP - the bureaucratic alliance between the trade union leaders and their political allies within the party hierarchy. Of course, the Waffle didn't threaten that alliance by suddenly acquiring a working-class base. But it did begin to make a few inroads.

It is within this context that Orillia must be understood. Leaders of the Waffle have interpreted Orillia as meaning that "the powers of the Ontario Party... do not want the ideas that the Waffle has stood for to be effectively presented within or through the NDP". But that's always been true. It never prevented us from militantly challenging the politics of the NDP leadership before. Why should it now?

Our political activities in the last couple of years on a number of fronts forced the party

leadership to move against us precisely because they demonstrated our growing strength and effectiveness. It is absurd to back away from the struggle just because we've discovered that the party leadership is prepared to do all it can to prevent our further politicizing the rank and file and that it has sufficient muscle to ram the Riverdale resolution through the provincial council. We knew from the past that council would be more easily packed and trade union delegates under tighter control than in the larger and more representative convention.

It is not up to us to resolve the dilemma which the NDP now faces by withdrawing from the struggle. Indeed it is up to us to deepen and widen the political differentiation within social democracy. By engaging in effective mass politics on class issues from within the NDP we will more clearly expose the nature of the bureaucratic structure of the NDP which co-opts class struggle into purely parliamentary channels.

### Political Gains

If we continue to join the struggle within the NDP, what political gains can be made? We obviously would be attempting to win as broad support as possible for the Waffle's politics between now and the December convention. We must shift the focus of our attempts to mobilize support from a defensive, organizational campaign (the right of caucuses, etc.) to a positive, political one centered around the crucial questions facing the working class in Ontario. We could attempt to mobilize support for a direct action campaign around professional strike-breaking or for actions of solidarity with the struggles of the Quebec working class. Such campaigns would be undertaken through the riding associations and union locals and would be accompanied by a challenge

to the party and labour leaders to support them.

Should the party leadership attempt to expel us for contravening Riverdale by acting in support of working class struggles the political meaning of the expulsions will be crystal clear. It will then be much easier to win broad support for our rights to organize within the party and to defend ourselves against expulsion.

### Refuse to Recognize Expulsions

It is of course possible that the party leadership will still be bent on expulsions. They would hope that by expelling the Ontario Waffle Steering Committee the Waffle would be decapitated and would then leave the party en masse. However, if the Waffle refuses to recognize the expulsions and continues its political campaigns, the leadership would then be forced to expel every NDP member who actively supports Waffle politics.

The political costs of attempting to root out every Waffle activist from local riding associations or union locals and of disciplining entire riding associations for sponsoring Waffle actions will be enormous. Even if we lose such a fight we will have sharpened the political differentiation with the social democratic leadership and strengthened and toughened our organization through the struggle. Labour militants will be much more likely to understand the political basis of the split and will not accuse us of walking out of the 'party of the working class'. At that point in time we will be in a stronger position to take our next step.

We stress that the supporters of this paper believe that, given the political factors outlined above, the Waffle could, by adopting a militant political strategy within the NDP, prevent expulsions from taking place and win a

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# General Information / Rules for Delegates, Observers

1. All Delegates and observers to the conference must be members of the NDP in keeping with past and present Waffle policy.
2. Delegates only may vote at the conference. Priority in speaking will be given to delegates.
3. As there are many Wafflers in the province who do not have an organized group from which to obtain delegate status, those who come as observers from these outside areas may caucus at the conference and select two delegates to represent them on the floor.
4. Day care will be provided throughout the conference.
5. A travel pool will be available for the Thunder Bay delegation. In other areas, car pools should be arranged to avoid heavy costs.
6. Any delegate may obtain a list of delegates to the conference by writing Doris Jantzi, c/o Ontario Waffle, P.O. Box 339, Station E, Toronto. Any other info you require may be obtained through the same address.

## PROPOSED AGENDA AND RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE CONFERENCE SESSIONS (prepared by the communications committee of the Ontario Waffle)

Saturday August 19

8:30 - 10:00 AM Registration

10:00 AM Opening Plenary -- Consideration of the Options

PROCEDURE: Debate will take place for the entire day under the following rules:

- 1) any option may be put on the floor for discussion if by 10:00 a.m. on Saturday that option has the signed support of a minimum of ten delegates to the conference.
- 2) supporters of each option will then be permitted a maximum of ten minutes to move their motion plus five minutes to second the motion.
- 3) after all motions have been introduced and seconded, the floor will be opened to speakers who will be limited to three minutes each.
- 4) debate will then proceed for the balance of the day (with a one hour lunch break) until the delegates are ready for the question. At that time a roll call vote will be taken with each delegate naming their preferred option.
- 5) voting will proceed in this manner, and on each roll call, the option obtaining the lowest vote will be dropped until one option receives a majority vote.

- 6) during Saturday's debate no amendments or motions to refer or table will be permitted. Motions to amend the winning option will be in order during Sunday's session on implementing the successful option as long as they are not contrary to the spirit of that option.
- 7) official delegations and presentations have been invited from Waffle groups in other provinces. Each province will be given five minutes following the lunch break on Saturday to present the position of their Waffle group. As well their delegates will have speaking rights on the floor of the conference.

6:00 PM Adjournment

Sunday August 20

10:00 AM Plenary -- "The Federal Candidates"

1:30 PM Plenary -- "Implementation of the Winning Option"

NOTE: Procedure for this plenary will be determined on Saturday night by a joint meeting of the Communications Committee and representatives from the winning option.

5:00 PM Adjournment

### Waffle News July-August, 1972

This special Ontario edition of The Waffle News has been produced under the direction of the steering committee of the Ottawa Waffle. Layout by the Source, Ottawa.

Ontario Waffle  
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## ... MOVEMENT

from page 3

case, the M.S.A. was the basis out of which a new party, the Parti Quebecois, was formed. The movement would allow us to substantially increase our methods of communication. As a focus for our activities and ideas, we will need a newspaper which will publish on a regular basis. Once again an analogy can be made with Quebec where Henri Bourassa founded Le Devoir around the beginning of the century. Le Devoir was used for both making and reporting politics. We could also publish pamphlets and books on popular issues.

Participation in the movement would not exclude individuals from retaining NDP membership. Our grievances are not with the rank and file NDPers in our riding associations but rather with the leadership of the ONDP. Hence, there is still valuable work which can be done at the riding level such as educational. However, work at the leadership level of the party may not be considered a useful expenditure of energy at this time.

The movement will not be in competition with the NDP- as it is not a political party. Instead, the movement will be carrying out those political activities which cannot be done through the NDP at this time.

It is premature to discuss what future form the movement will take. The movement will be occupied for some time building a base for the ideas of independence and socialism. If the NDP takes a turn to the left and is willing to accept our ideas, then our focus

may return to the NDP. If our movement grows into a serious socialist force in Canada without the necessary changes in the NDP, then a new political party may emerge.

Whatever the future holds, the task before us is to build a movement around independence and socialism for Canada. To explore, develop and communicate the ideas which have made us strong.

Ellie Prepas \*

(based on a paper written for the East Metro Waffle Meeting of July 19th, 1972, "Towards a Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada").

Ellie Prepas lives in Toronto where she works in the north Metro Waffle and is a member of the Ontario communications committee. In February she was nominated as NDP federal candidate in Toronto Trinity.

## ... "STAY AND FIGHT"

from page 3

tremendous political victory. We are nevertheless convinced that even the risk of being expelled for engaging in class politics is a more viable political strategy than the poorly thought out and vaguely formulated Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada.

The proponents of MISC argue: "During the next few years, as the movement for independence and socialism grows, we believe the basis for a truly socialist party will come into being." "But at this moment we cannot know how it will (happen)." That is, of course, a rather key question!

Is MISC to be the basis for a new party? How could that be possible while the NDP

continues to have such widespread legitimacy among the working class? With all of its political liabilities, the NDP remains the only broad expression of working class politics in Canada. That fact won't go away just because two or three hundred of us have walked out of the party. MISC will have no labour base and will not be seen by workers as having arisen out of the trade union or political struggles of their class.

Some have argued that if the developing radicalization of the working class begins to find expression within the NDP we could then re-enter the party. Therefore they advocate that MISC supporters retain their NDP memberships as individuals. But if the Waffle abandons its role as a left caucus within the NDP now it will not be able to re-establish that role so easily later.

We are convinced that abandoning our caucus in the NDP to establish MISC as an embryonic socialist party is a course of action which is not based on a clear political analysis. Those who have been persuaded of its merits should re-examine the vagueness of its formulation and insist that its proponents be far clearer about its political viability.

Varda Kidd  
Jackie Larkin  
Steve Penner

The three signatories of this document work in the Waffle in Toronto and have been delegates to the Ontario steering committee. In October 1971 Steve Penner was the NDP candidate in Toronto Dovercourt. Jackie Larkin is on the Ontario NDP executive.

LSA/LSO  
Central Office  
334 Queen St., W.,  
Toronto

July 12, 1972

To branch organizers, NDP co-ordinators and members at large.

Re: Developments in the NDP and Waffle

Dear Comrades:

In the aftermath of the decision of the Ontario Provincial Council of the NDP to proscribe the Waffle, a substantial number of Waffle leaders have retreated from the task of carrying the fight into the NDP, by projecting the dissolution of the Waffle inside the party and its reformation outside the NDP as a committee for an independent and socialist Canada.

This opportunist and sectarian move coming at a time of considerable possibilities to carry the struggle deeper into the NDP, if carried through will result in the liquidation of the Waffle as a force in the NDP and poses the necessity to develop another left wing formation in which our forces will play a leading role.

The present struggle in the NDP gives our movement greater possibilities to intervene than ever before. It is important that we take the necessary steps to ensure that we are as effective as possible.

The Orillia conference showed that the radicalization in the NDP is deepening. Support for the Waffle among party activists is higher than ever before while the prestige of the leadership is probably at an alltime low. Discussion continues in the NDP much of it an expression of anger at the decision of the Council.

The Ontario Waffle has slated a mid-August conference to discuss the next step. This conference will be critical in determining the future of the Waffle as an organized left wing inside the NDP. Comrades in Ontario and across the country should now gear their efforts to intervene in the preparations for the conference, in the local areas, which will take on the character of a cross-country meeting.

The direction out of the party of leading Wafflers like Cy Gonick (Manitoba), Jerry Sperling and Pat Gallagher (Saskatchewan), James Laxer, Mel Watkins and Ellie Prepas (Ontario) seems to be firm. This is underlined by suggestions by Laxer, Watkins and Prepas to withdraw as federal NDP candidates.

In a written circular to a recent Toronto Waffle meeting, Watkins posed the dissolution of the Waffle in the party and the formation of a committee for an independent and socialist Canada outside the party. CISC members would take out NDP memberships "as they see fit". The Waffle would "someday" get into the NDP again when the NDP was more radical. According to Watkins a

Committee for an Independent and Socialist Canada could carry on extraparlimentary activity like the Texpac and Autopact campaigns and in that way make contact with the rank and file of the labour movement.

We are opposed to this proposal all down the line. There is no perspective for such a committee. In addition, moves towards such a formation betray the deep sentiment in the NDP for a fight against the Lewis witchhunt. These moves simply play into the hands of the NDP leadership. They mean the destruction of the Waffle.

The situation presents us with a unique opportunity to move in, rally the forces in the Waffle and the party as a whole that want to carry the fight and lay the ground work for another left formation or "socialist caucus" significantly broader than the socialist caucus of 1965-6-7.

Enclosed is a document being circulated in Waffle circles that we support. It calls for 1) rejection of the CISC course and adoption of a perspective of a fight through to the December ONDP convention; 2) an open, one-person one-vote Waffle conference projected by the leadership; 3) for the Waffle candidates in the federal elections to remain as candidates.

The document should be circulated to elements in the Waffle and the constituencies that can be brought into struggle. In this way we will be able to make the connections necessary to carry a broad fight at the mid-August Waffle conference.

In order to maximize the effectiveness of our intervention comrades should do the following:

- 1) Educationals should be given to branches dealing with the present developments in the context of our orientation to the NDP. The Educationals should be based on this circular, the past issues of Labour Challenge and the Document on "Our Orientation to the NDP" by Ross Dowson in the Bulletin containing the 1970 LSA/LSO convention documents.
- 2) Comrades should intervene in local Waffle groups and constituencies to put across our perspective.
- 3) Every effort should be made to circulate our press widely. Subscriptions are a priority to enable us to establish a base for the Trotskyist press among the persons most active in the struggle in the NDP.
- 4) Comrades should intervene in the constituencies and affiliated locals, and in NDP publications, around motions condemning the Orillia decision and supporting the right of the Waffle to remain in the party.
- 5) While we are not posing in any way a qualitative increase in assignments to the NDP branches should tighten up the work of comrades, make sure all comrades are in contact with their constituencies and make additional assignments where necessary. Waffle and NDP and systematic contact work should be developed

around elements becoming attracted to us because of the present situation in the NDP.

7) The public activities of our movement should be made attractive to these elements. Classes and forums explaining our politics should be geared to bringing such persons into activity around our movement.

8) Labour Challenge and the centre should be kept informed of all developments as they arise.

9) Comrades should be encouraged to submit reports to the Internal pre-convention discussion bulletin of the League dealing with the experience of the movement in the present situation.

Comradely,

Gary Porter,  
Organizational Secretary.

"MISC" - July 1972

copy six

# TOWARDS A MOVEMENT FOR AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CANADA

A PROPOSAL FOR THE ONTARIO MAFFLE CONFERENCE  
AUGUST 19TH AND 20TH, 1972 - LONDON.

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## INTRODUCTION

This booklet outlines an option for the Ontario Waffle. It has been published by those in the Ontario Waffle who believe that we should create a Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada, outside the NDP, that will carry on the educational, organizational and research work of the Waffle.

The papers that appear in this booklet were presented at a conference of those interested in elaborating the movement option, held in Gravenhurst, Ontario on July 28 and 30, 1972. That conference, attended by 120 Wafflers from all over the province, planned for the publishing of these papers.

The papers in this booklet are divided under a number of topic headings. The first set of papers deals with: the current position of the Waffle in the Canadian left, an exposition of the movement option in broad terms, a critique of the alternative options facing the Waffle, and a proposed strategy for organizing in the Movement for an Independent, Socialist Canada. The second set of papers deal with proposed strategies for organizing around specific issues and with specific constituencies. The final paper sets out an approach to the question of structures in the new movement.

Those who have authored the papers agree in broad terms on the movement option. They have a range of views on the kinds of priorities the new movement should have. Their views are presented in this booklet to provide a cross section of the thinking of those who support the movement option. We have not attempted to offer precise formulations in the form of resolutions for the London conference.

For further information on the movement or for additional copies of this booklet, write to Bonnie Benedik, 1127 O'Connor Drive, Apt. 6, Toronto 374, Ontario. Phone: 1-416-757-9761.

Technical production of this booklet by Hilary Armstrong and Maggi Boyce.

485 Parkside Drive,  
Toronto 3, Ontario.

19 July 1972.

Dear Waffler,

The four of us who have signed this letter are both Ontario Wafflers and federal candidates for the NDP. We are writing to you at our own expense to explain why we have each come to the view that the four of us should resign our candidacies as soon as possible.

We believe that we cannot in good faith continue to be candidates for the NDP. At Orillia, the powers of the Ontario Party, with the apparent blessing of the federal leader, clearly indicated that they do not want the ideas that the Waffle has stood for to be effectively presented within or through the NDP in the future. We remain committed, as we are sure you do, to those ideas -- the building of an independent socialist Canada, the right of self-determination for Quebec, the liberation of women, etc. Before Orillia, it was possible, while holding to these ideas, to be an NDP candidate, because the possibility existed that these ideas would in due course triumph within the NDP. But, because of Orillia, the likelihood of this now happening in the foreseeable future is sharply reduced. As principled socialists, we do not believe that we can represent to the electorate at this time a party that has chosen to move decisively rightward.

We believe not only that we should resign but that we should do so in the very near future. While we agree that such a decision will be an important one for the Waffle, we also feel that it should not be left until the London Conference on August 19 and 20. The chief reason is simply that our remaining as candidates is most unfair to our riding associations. While we Wafflers have grievances against the party leadership, we do not have grievances against the riding associations, particularly those four that nominated Wafflers as candidates. A fall election, called in the latter part of August is a distinct possibility. Our riding associations should be given as much time as possible to find new candidates. Their rights exist independently of the Waffle, since none of us were chosen solely, or even primarily, by the votes of Waffle supporters.

An additional factor is the recent stance of the federal leadership against the Quebec party. Should the federal party take explicit steps that adversely affect the Quebec candidates, we do not see how we could be expected to remain a moment longer as candidates. To do otherwise would suggest that the Waffle was indifferent to the position articulated by the Quebec party, and so far consistently supported by us, of the right of the Quebec people to self-determination.

Indeed, it seems to us that each day that we remain as candidates we are implying that we are indifferent to the ideas of the Waffle that all of us have championed in the past, and will continue to champion in the future. For it is surely clear that the Party which we represent as federal candidates has shown its indifference, if not its hostility, to these ideas.

We therefore ask you to urge your delegates to the Ontario Steering Committee to support the calling of an emergency meeting of that Committee to approve our stated desire to resign.

For And Independent Socialist Canada,

George Gilks	(Hamilton West)
Jim Laxer	(York East)
Ellie Prepas	(Trinity)
Mel Watkins	(Parkdale)

(p.1) (LSA proposal? - undated, found in June-July 1972)

We the undersigned propose the following guidelines for the future course of the Waffle.

I For an all out campaign to defend the right to caucus for an Independent Socialist Canada, in the New Democratic Party.

We propose to fight for the reversal of the Riverdale resolution at the upcoming convention. The resolution is inherently <sup>abstract</sup> and unenforceable. It is a pretense to proclaim the right to caucus while denying a public identity to such a caucus, in a party open to public scrutiny as is the NDP. Already widespread dissatisfaction exists among ridings about the outcome of the Orillia meeting even among the originators of the resolution.

Orillia in our opinion is not a decisive turn of the party nor was the outcome surprising, being <sup>mainly</sup> the making and manoeuvring of the leadership <sup>who put</sup> over on the ranks a so-called compromise resolution which swayed a number of the uncommitted delegates.

When Lewis moved in March, he felt he could take advantage of our relative isolation (viz. Mc Master Conference) as well as McDermitt's successful blocking and lambasting of the Waffle over the Autopact. <sup>Lewis's</sup> <sup>however</sup> initial advantage was quickly lost, as expressed through the Vichert hearings and meetings like the June 4th rally in Toronto. A movement to rout the exec report was getting under foot just prior to Orillia. While there is a sentiment that the organizational wrangling must end inside the party, the prospects for the Lewis leadership are far from favourable. The <sup>worsening</sup> economic crisis the continuing radicalization typified by the women's liberation movement and the politization of the Quebec trade unions, cannot help but provide us the opportunity to <sup>further</sup> expose the bankruptcy of the party establishment. The fight for an ongoing Waffle is not an organizational matter, but poses in the sharpest possible way whether the policies and program of the party will meet the test of the times,...

whether the NDP will succeed to respond to the hopes and aspirations of Canada's working people, and whether or not it will succeed in directing them to regain control of the country from both foreign and native usurpers.

## II. Against the formation of MISC

To remove ourselves from our active base of support of 1/3 of the party - by forming a grouping explicitly outside the NDP is to hand victory to Lewis on a silver platter, it is to vindicate his slanders of the Waffle as outsiders, as a party within the party. Aside from any other considerations this is a decisive setback and constitutes walking out on the fight for a pro-independent and socialist NDP at a very auspicious and key juncture. The very prospect of MISC combined with the publicly espoused intentions of leading Wafflers to resign their candidacies must indeed make Lewis palpitate in anti-

III. We propose that the Waffle continue to make the NDP the major force of work.

A prime responsibility of socialists is to <sup>assess</sup> ~~judge~~ correctly the present situation in our country and to judge properly where our efforts will be most effective. MISC in our opinion is at best based on a romanticised reading of the present consciousness of the people of Canada. Furthermore we feel that when the radicalization, which is continuing to develop, <sup>trade union</sup> does spill over the bounds of the present/bureaucracy -- we have every reason to believe that the decisive battles between liberal reformism and the policies for a truly socialist Canada will be taking place in the NDP -- in or out of power. The present party leadership will not transform itself, -- quite the opposite -- it is prepared to scuttle the continuing growth of the party if it can get away with it. We have no time to waste in preparing ourselves.

#### IV. <sup>continuing</sup> For an Ongoing Left Caucus

Just as in the past the existence of the Wafflê has helped rejuvenate and strengthen the party, a vigorous continuing caucus is needed to keep the party alert and relevant, and able to attract newly aware people to its ranks. An ongoing organized caucus for a truly independent socialist Canada, based on several key planks such as public ownership of resource industries, and run-away plants, support for the movement in Quebec and the movement for women's liberation is indispensable. The debate of party policy is by no means resolved, and the upcoming elections municipal and federal will test all the resources we have at our disposal

1-2444  
V. For a United, Continuing Waffle

We want to continue the Waffle that we have seen reconsolidate itself around the Lewis attack and making unprecedented gains from our successful defence campaign. We want to work more energetically in our ridings around local issues, and initiating discussions for the upcoming convention. We want to maintain our hotly contested <sup>& hard won</sup> nominations to continue the effective showing of Wafflers in the provincial elections, to show that the party and the country is indeed ready for our alternative.

Aug 1972

## TOWARDS A MOVEMENT FOR AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CANADA

(This brief outline is intended to serve as an introduction to an option which will be presented to the Waffle conference in London, Ontario on August 19 and 20, 1972)

In preparing for the conference of the Waffle on August, 19 and 20, Wafflers run the risk of spending too much of their time wrapped up in debates about political form while ignoring the content of their politics.

For this reason, let us take as our point of departure the current political situation in Canada. As we know the country continues to be pressured to become a resource hinterland of the United States. Everyday we see extensions of resource deals with the United States—one day a hydro-electric sale from Northwestern Ontario to the U.S., the next day talk of Imperial Oil selling our northern natural gas to the U.S. We watch as de-industrialization proceeds in Canada. In the auto industry, Ford is already making use of U.S. tax write-offs (DISC) to dump more American made cars in Canada, thus threatening the jobs of Canadian auto workers.

It comes as no great surprise to Wafflers who have been saying these things repeatedly for three years that this June saw the highest unemployment for that month in decades. We have long known that a country that serves as a resource base for the U.S. won't provide jobs for its people. We understand that Canadians will face increasing structural unemployment and political powerlessness as the American corporate hold on Canada increases.

All this means that there is a very real need for an anti-imperialist movement in Canada. And moreover, there is a basis in the reality of Canadian life for such a movement. In the resource towns and the single industry cities, the consciousness of Canadian workers is increasing. In places like Sudbury and Windsor, the response to Waffle ideas has been indicative of the potential.

And yet, while this potential for a socialist movement to fight for people's control of the Canadian economy exists, what has been the institutional response to it?

Two events of significance have occurred with respect to the independence movement in the past several months. One can be quickly dismissed: the Liberal government has proved unwilling even to adopt the recommendations of the Gray Report, revealing once more how feeble is the option of an independent, capitalist Canada.

Much more important for us, at Orillia on June 24 the Ontario NDP rejected the politics of independence and socialism. It is possible to spend much time debating the exact nuances of Orillia, but surely, we can agree on several things. After a long and full debate in the party, the leadership of the ONDP got the instrument it needed to begin a purge of the left. For the foreseeable future, the ONDP has returned to the position of a monolithic social democratic party interested in small scale reforms but unwilling to take up the challenge of mobilizing the Canadian people for a socialist struggle for Canadian independence.

What we have seen in these events is an institutional failure on the part of the NDP to respond to the potential for an anti-imperialist movement in Canada. Some people read this as meaning that the potential for the socialist struggle has been lessened in Canada. Blinded by institutional blinkers, they cannot see that the potential for the movement remains; only the capacity of that movement to express itself through the NDP has changed.

It is critical for us to realize that as in the case of Quebec, when institutions fail to respond to a crisis that concerns the future of the nation, they do so at their peril. Everywhere in Canada today the anger against American corporate domination grows. The Waffle has been central to that new consciousness. We must not allow ourselves to fail the movement because we are too timid to see the potential that exists.

Since the creation of the Waffle three years ago we have believed that our politics can be public politics. We have felt that many, many thousands of Canadians are ready to talk about independence and socialism now. We have never felt like a parasitic force that had to bury itself forever in the midst of some more "respectable" political cocoon. We have tried openly and consistently to win the NDP to our ideas. The ONDP has now rejected these ideas and we must prepare for the future.

Our first concern must be for the continued growth of the socialist movement in Canada. All institutional questions must flow from that.

The authors of this paper believe that Canada needs a movement on a national scale which continues to address itself to socialist issues in the way the Waffle group has. The Waffle group must continue to do its work and must not be disbanded or drawn into an internal political battle with the Lewises which takes away its potential to organize.

We therefore propose the creation of a new organization, a Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada, which would exist entirely outside the NDP. Such an organization, not a political party running candidates, would carry on the work of the Waffle group.

This new organization would in our view quickly grow in Ontario to large proportions and would quickly be joined by provincial sections in the rest of Canada.

Such an organization would continue the very important educational and organizational work of the Waffle. It would work everywhere in Canada against the sellout of our country to American corporations. It would co-ordinate national campaigns on the resource question, on the destruction of Canadian manufacturing, on plant shutdowns. It would help to bring the new ideas of the Quebec labour movement to English Canadians. It would take up the task of organizing women in the work place.

Those who have written this paper are of the view that we should retain individual membership in the ONDP. But we also feel that Orillia has placed a roadblock in the way of our doing our most important work through the ONDP. The ONDP remains preferable to the old line parties, but is not now a vital centre for the struggle for independence and socialism. These things are not of our choosing. We fought long and hard to prevent them. They are nonetheless realities.

Many will feel that fruitful work can continue to be done in the party. The Movement for an independent socialist Canada would not be a political party which would compete with the NDP. We believe that many people will continue to be active in the party while working in the new movement.

We know that this leaves unresolved a question of crucial importance for the future. We understand that someday it will be necessary for the people of Canada to have a socialist party to win the struggle. But, at this moment, we cannot know how this will come into being. During the next few years as the movement for independence and socialism grows, we believe the basis for a truly socialist party will come into being. We cannot know though whether this party will result from the radicalization of an existing party (the NDP) or the creation of a new one.

At the moment, it is our view that we must put our energies into movement building. The Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada can play a vital role in Canada in the next few years.

We ask you to consider this approach and to dialogue on it as proposals are elaborated for the August Waffle conference.

Submitted by:

Julia Bass  
Richard Comber  
Paul Craven  
Bruce Kidd  
Jim Laxer  
Jim Littleton  
Krista Maeots  
Joey Noble

~~CORRECTIONS~~

(972)

The following resolution has been drafted for consideration by the Waffle conference in London, August 19-20.

Be it resolved that:

1. Our defeat at Orillia was only a tactical defeat. We will continue to struggle to remain an organized left within the NDP. We will use our constitutional right to caucus in an organized way around our program in preparation for the December ONDP convention.
2. Our decision is based on our conviction that the base of the Party, as never before in its history, is open to left wing ideas. There is no other explanation for our impressive growth in the past three years and the leadership's desperate purge attempt on the eve of an election.
3. We will build a mass campaign in opposition to the bureaucratic threat to socialism and democracy in the NDP. We will link the struggle for party democracy with our struggle for a program to achieve independence and socialism for the Canadian working class movement by continuing our agitation around the issues of self-determination for Quebec, public ownership, women's liberation, and the defence of workers' struggles.
4. We reject the proposal to withdraw from the struggle. To do so would constitute capitulation to the Party leadership and the repudiation of our previous efforts. At this time any proposal such as the "Movement for an Independent and Socialist Canada" would reduce us to a sterile sect isolated from the existing mass constituency for socialism.

X Joe Flexer ✓

Jackie Larkin

• Dominic Pagani X

Marv Gandall

Donna McCoombs

Jack Quarter ✓

Peter Horbatiuk ✓

Hans Modlich ✓

Bob Sherwood

Susan Kent

Micheal Ornstein

Barry Weisleder

Varda Kidd ✓

Steve Penner ✓

Further endorsements are invited. For more information please contact either of the following: Joe Flexer (483-4745); Marv Gandall (769-7713); Peter Horbatiuk (486-7534); Donna McCoombs (483-4745); Micheal Ornstein (536-3353); Steve Penner (246-5814).

## RESOLUTION

Be it resolved that:

1. Our defeat at Orillia was only a tactical defeat. We will continue to struggle to remain an organized left within the NDP.
2. Our decision is based on our conviction that the base of the Party, as never before in its history, is open to left wing ideas. There is no other explanation for our impressive growth in the past three years and the leadership's desperate purge attempt on the eve of an election.
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4. We reject our proposal to withdraw from the struggle. To do so would constitute capitulation to the Party leadership and the repudiation of our previous efforts. At this time any proposal such as the "Movement for an Independent and Socialist Canada" would reduce us to a sterile sect isolated from the existing mass audience for socialism.

NAME

ADDRESS

PHONE

RIDING

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_
6. \_\_\_\_\_
7. \_\_\_\_\_

A CRITIQUE OF "STAY AND FIGHT" IN WAFFLE NEWS

We have read carefully the statement "Stay and Fight" in the Waffle News. Because we feel that certain implications of this option have not been brought out by its supporters, we are led to write these comments. We hope that our comments will be of some value to those who are concerned that the decision taken during this week end be the best for our future.

What struck us first after having read "Stay and Fight" was the lack of concrete suggestions about what it would be like for us to stay on and fight. We found this puzzling since in our view there is little doubt about what course of action stay and fight entails. It means either fighting to get the Orillia Council decision reversed by the next Provincial Convention in December and leaving the party if we are unsuccessful, or it means staying in the NDP until we take it over -- in effect never leaving. Let us examine the relative merits of each course of action. Between now and next December's Convention the NDP will be fighting a Federal Election in September - October and in Toronto, Ottawa and other centres municipal elections in November (election day, December 4th). If we defy the Riverdale resolution and stay and fight, we would be attempting to escalate the conflict within the Party during these elections. This would be suicide for us. As everyone knows, NDP centrists will not be interested in fighting the leadership during an election. By insisting on an internal feud at that point, the Waffle would turn the rest of the party against itself.

Given a decision here at London to stay and fight, our participation in the Federal Election would give the leadership an opportunity once again to blame its electoral failure on us. It would also leave us only one month - November - to organise for the Convention.

The authors of "Stay and Fight" maintain that the Convention will be "larger and more representative" than the Orillia Council meeting was. We agree that it will be about five times larger, but what reason is there to think that it will be more "representative"? The Waffle will still not be able to influence many Union delegates prior to the Convention, nor will the situation with respect to Riding Associations change significantly in the interval. The same party activists will put the same case before the same, and perhaps less enthusiastic, Riding Associations. The proportion of Waffle support will not increase sufficiently. If anything, our support will decrease. We would have to reach a much larger number of people in a much shorter time to just ensure the kind of ratio of support we had at Orillia. More important, as the lack of response in the Ridings since June 24th shows, many centrists regard Riverdale as a bad decision which must now be accepted.

We therefore have very little hope about the prospects of fighting the party brass in the near future. If, however, proponents of "stay and fight" want us to stay in the party to fight indefinitely defeat after defeat, they should explain to us what makes them think that we will win over the party before we are wasted and destroyed in the process. But even if they could convince us that we as a group possess the magical quality of surviving one devastation after another, they would still need to convince us that Canadian socialism can only arise out of the bosom of the NDP. They should tell us why they think that it is impossible to work for socialism and independence outside the NDP.

The fact is that for more than a year now we have operated on a strategy of stay and fight and we have lost. Our relations with the Trade Union movement have become worse, not better. The deterioration of our relation with the Trade Unions is the result of a clever ploy by the Union leadership to use us to forge a false solidarity with the rank and file which is becoming more and more restless. Thus, by leaving the NDP we would do the Trade Union movement a service. Once the spectre of the Waffle disappears from the NDP, rank and file unionists will not be diverted from their fight against a leadership which is becoming increasingly irrelevant to their needs as workers.

The claim made by the "stay and fight" group that a movement for an independent socialist Canada outside the NDP will have no labor base shows an apparent lack of understanding of the relationship between Canadian independence and the class struggle in Canada, as well as a lack of understanding of the Waffle. For this group the Waffle seems to be no more than a thorn in the side of social democracy: "The historic role that the Waffle has played in exposing social democracy's contradictions must not be forgotten". This is a totally negative view of the Waffle. The Waffle does not

exist primarily to embarrass Canadian social democracy. Our primary concern is the struggle for a Socialist Independent Canada. Our analysis, as Wafflers, is that the class struggle in Canada must now take the form of a struggle for independence. This is the only way we can give back to Canadian workers their country and hence ultimately the power over their own destiny. Supporters of the option to stay in and fight neglect this point, a point which in our view is most central to our understanding of the Waffle.

This is the most profound difference we see between ourselves and the authors of "Stay and Fight". It is disappointing to us to see Wafflers outline a program of action for the Waffle such as "Stay and Fight" does in paragraph 7 (Political Gains) and not mention Canadian independence. It brings home to us the gulf between their position and ours to see them argue that MISC will have no labor base because it "will not be seen by workers as having arisen out of the Trade Union movement or political struggles of their class". One would think that the authors of "Stay and Fight" don't know about plant shutdowns in Ontario, about the export of jobs and resources, about the layoffs at Douglas Aircraft and the June and July unemployment figures in this country.

To think that the NDP is a class conscious party and that we can carry on the class struggle by talking to the deaf ears of union leaders from time to time must surely rank as one of the gravest perversions of socialist theory.

Supporters of the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada have made a serious attempt to explain what their option means for the future of the Waffle in the form of a 40-page booklet which will be available to all at the Conference. This document leaves many questions of detail unanswered. We, as supporters of this option, feel that many of these questions will be answered as soon as concrete political work begins. We ask no one to give us an exact prediction of what the future will be like. Nevertheless, we feel that by opting for a movement outside the NDP we are not going into the dark. There has been a lot of helpful clarification of this option in the last few weeks, but what is much more important is that the Waffle as a whole has already started the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada even within the bounds of the NDP. The Dunlops, the Texpacks, the Resources Campaign, the Autopact Conferences - these are the achievements we should be proud of and **seek** to continue, not the Oshawas and Orillias of the last insane months. Surely our record in the party since 1969 shows that we are capable of doing the work and developing the issues that would be involved in setting up the new Movement. Why continue our defeats when we can continue our victories?

We may have to wait a long time for a better opportunity. If the Waffle Conference this week-end adopts what has been called by many option 3, then we can look forward to holding the founding Convention of the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada in November. This would be at a time of low political morale among Canadians serious about independence and socialism in the face of a Liberal victory, itself made possible only by the banality and emptiness of its opponents. More Canadians than ever before would come to realize that none of the parties representing them in Parliament are at present capable of taking a strong stand in defence of their country and its working people. The time will then be ripe for making the case for an Independent Socialist Canada and that can be done best outside, not inside, the NDP.

Even though we favour setting up an organization outside the NDP we do see two reasons for retaining our membership in the NDP. First, the NDP is a non-capitalist party with better policies than the others. Second, we have close relationships with a number of people in the NDP whose political positions we respect. We want to maintain close relationships with these people perhaps working with them on specific projects. We hope that they will be able to change the NDP. There will in the future be a socialist party in Canada and we hope that we will be in it together. But at this point for us we think the next step in the creation of that party should be taken along the direction we have described rather than that advocated by the authors of "Stay and Fight".

BELA EGYED, JOHN SMART.

## THE CULTURAL QUESTION

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Robin Mathews

The relation of the cultural question to the existence, program, and activities of the Waffle has, so far, been unclear and perhaps even undeveloped. The reasons are pretty clear. First, people have been unclear about what culture means. That uncertainty must be cleared up. Secondly, many people have believed that culture is somehow not a serious consideration for those who believe they are concerned with national liberation, socialism, and anti-imperialism. They are wrong.

### What is Culture ?

Culture is, in the first place, the expression of the reality of a community through time. It is the way in which a community sees itself and the world. It is the way a community talks to itself, communicates its particular ways of perceiving, of understanding, of grasping the meaning of events and the world around it. Culture is the generation and dissemination of ideas. It is, in short, thinking about things and then saying what is thought to another in a way he or she can understand, whether about how men and women live together, or how workers will make unions and why, or what a landscape means to a people, or how games will be played and why, or how and why and for whom an educational system will be run, and so on. Culture is about how people live, the way they see, the values they choose. At one level, culture is ballet, music, and painting, poetry, theatre, and story. In a liberal capitalist society those aspects of culture are permitted to concentrate only on romantic and individualist pleasures, unrelated to political forms, community philosophies, and a genuine sense of struggle. As a result people tend to define culture as the irrelevant decoration of society. When they have done that, they easily become blind to the genuine meaning and role of culture; and they tend to neglect its enormous power in the community -- power for change, or power for support of the status quo.

## WHY does the U.S. ha ve to take over Canadian culture?

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When Canadians use words like "democracy", "freedom", "radical" "imperialist", "socialism", "nationalism", "conservative" and a host of other key words, they mean something different than U.S. people do when they use apparently the same words. Culture shapes the meaning of words into acceptibility p~~at~~terns. Democracy in the U.S. has historically meant the manifest destiny of the U.S.A. to have an empire (good U.S. people want a good empire), and it has meant the right to expand --power, boundaries, and cultural influence. Democracy in Canada has not meant that.

In order to have Canadians accept a colonial position in the U.S. empire, the U.S. must take over Canadian culture; that is, they must make Canadians accept the U.S. meaning of the word democracy, and the U.S. meaning of all the other key words necessary to the maintenance of domination.

The U.S. must take over Canadian culture in order to strangle the expression that defines a Canadian way of perceiving, of understanding, of grasping the meaning of events and the world. The strangling of "an independent voice" is necessary to the effective, successful p~~er~~manent takeover of Canada.

### What happens when the culture is taken over?

When the culture is taken over a major fragmentation, deracination, and disorientation takes place among the people of the community. They are divided psychologically. They are unsure of themselves. Moreover, their objective condition --the real state of their lives-- is not fully or precisely handled by the instruments of communication handed to them by a foreign culture. They become what we sometimes describe as "colonial-minded". They want to ape the imperial people, even though the imperial people are exploiting them. They ask the imperial people to tell them what life is about -- to be experts for them. They argue that imperial people must come in and manage, must be the professors, the police chiefs, the art gallery curators. They have no faith in themselves or in their own people. A people that has lost its confidence and been psychologically divided cannot set about repossessing its economy.

## How is the culture taken over?

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First, a culture is taken over as a part of state policy and as an almost unconscious function of imperialism.

As we are well aware takeover of the economy means takeover of and limiting of technological power which we describe variously as an "unbalanced economy", an economy based upon primary industries, and so on. The taking over and limiting of technological power extends into the most advanced developments of electronic communication, and so the takeover of the economy means the takeover of Canadian publishing, film production, educational aids, textbook production, data-information industries, the periodical press. In more subtle ways than open ideological assault, takeover presents the imperial country on the brand name and advertising of products, the names of unions, the language and attitudes of mass media heroes, the prevalence of U.S. news. Canadian experience, then, is not little considered because it is second rate; it is considered second rate because it is little considered.

Because of the stranglehold of U.S. takeover, the cultural industries in Canada remain small, non-existent, or branch plant, preventing the development of Canadian creative energy, expertise, and above all imaginative creativity. But even so, we must remember that 94% of all patents taken out in Canada are held by non-Canadians. Canadians may create and invent, but they don't possess their inventions very long.

While the discussion of the takeover of culture should not be mystified, it should not be oversimplified either. Harold Innis, one of Canada's (and the West's) great economic historians wrote about empire and "monopolies of knowledge". He used the phrase to describe the way in which an imperial power like the U.S.A. invades and controls the political administration, forms of communication and what can be communicated, and, in fact, the very thought structures of a colony. He considered communication so important that he declared that the creation and maintenance of empire is fundamentally dependent upon "monopolies of knowledge". Rub out the culture of a country, dissolve its fundamental basis of understanding itself, and then take over its communications in most important cultural ways and the possibility of resistance to imperial domination becomes almost

non-existent. When an empire like the U.S. empire monopolizes knowledge it feeds into the colony or hinterland its values about man, its concepts of community, its artistic theories, its ideas of what a union is for, its ideas of what democracy is, its ideas about, for instance, who the "enemies of the West" are. As a result the people in the colony or hinterland accept service to the metropolis as the dominant reality. People on the left must not underrate the takeover of the mind. They must not underrate the takeover of their minds. Canadian lacrosse has almost disappeared in my lifetime because it is not a U.S. sport. We know what has happened to ice hockey. In my lifetime the U.S. moneymaker game, football, has been superimposed upon the Canadian people by "entrepreneurs" who wanted to use the spillover of imperial cultural conditioning to make a highly profitable big sport. Any Canadian sports fan has to be aware that his patterns of enjoyment of big sports are quite simply "made in USA". If that fact is considered in relation to all the sports culture of reporting, publishing, analysis, selling, organization of youth -- then we have to admit that the U.S. empire owns the Canadian sports mind, superimposing upon it the commercial aspects, marketing intensity, ideas of U.S. individualism, heroism, success, and the other values that have made the USA the great country that it is.

I use sports purposefully there because it is not generally considered culture, but precisely the same thing has happened in the gallery arts, in periodical publishing, in education. Precisely the same thing has happened in youth culture, in young radicalism, in left analysis. Many young left people in Canada are still attempting to deal with Canadian experience with methods and analysis that have been made in USA.

Such a condition we describe as colonialism. Such people we describe as cultural and intellectual colonials.

I have just this minute read in a left publication that the fight to get Canadians hired in the universities "is in reality nothing more than a demand for "jobs for educated Canadians". To anyone who understands cultural imperialism and the role of the home culture in a national liberation struggle, the development of a socialist consciousness, and the recognition of the imperialist psychology, as a beginning of struggle, that quotation reveals total colonial-mindedness.

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Does this mean a closed border to ideas, that we should exclude the best U.S. thought and thinkers?

Of course not. But it does mean that Canadians must get their priorities right. It doesn't mean that we think of Canadians as superior. It means that we recognize that Canadians are as competent as any people in the world. And that in the management, understanding, analysis, communication of the Canadian fact Canadians should be, in a majority, better able to work than non-Canadians. That recognizes quite openly that in the work that would be done in their own countries non-Canadians would be better qualified in a majority than Canadians. The condition in Canadian social sciences, increasingly in arts, politics, fine arts, that non-Canadians, especially from the imperial centre are shaping, teaching, and analysing the meaning of Canadian reality is an open expression of Canadian intellectual colonialism.

Moreover, a strong anti-imperialist analysis has to recognize that the imperial nation conditions all of its people, It is a very very rare imperial who can get free of the intensive conditioning of his own culture. It is even the more rare imperial who can really understand and live the meaning and fact of a colonial culture. To take, therefore, almost wholesale, the radical analysis, the radical people, the radical events of the empire as functionally significant to the struggle of the colony is to admit the intellectual poverty of the colonials; it is to accept intellectual colonialism and increasing domination by the imperial power. Canada and Canadians have been cursed by that kind of cultural colonialism: right, left, and centre.

If we recognize for one minute that the enormous influx of highly characteristic U.S. periodicals in Canada -- from the whole range of U.S. life -- abstract, prevent, and strangle the development of Canadian publication <sup>from</sup> of all the range of Canadian life then the point is made. U.S. cultural imperialism, tied to U.S. economic imperialism abolishes the border so that the largest portion of Canadians are prevented from gaining access to a wide range of Canadian ideas. They have excluded from them the best Canadian thought and thinkers.

But that is not all: at the same time they are presented with the (6) whole U.S. imperial reality -- from a U.S. point of view -- as a basis upon which to understand their own lives in Canada.

What is so good about Canadian Culture that it should be protected?

Canadians have formed particular habits of behaviour and thinking, identifiable ways of seeing community, the individual, history, etc. Canadians react to anything from certain characteristic preconditions of conditioning and culture. It doesn't matter whether they are good or better or worse than <sup>characteristics of some</sup> some other cultures theoretically. They exist. They are the bases from which Canadians respond and act. They are the bases upon which Canadians live, or have the possibility of living full lives. The liberation of Canadians will be the freeing of them into the fullest use of their own best characteristics. It will not be the freeing of them into the best characteristics of some other culture.

Canadian culture must be "protected" in order that Canadians can find the roots of their own repressed possibility of living full and creative lives.

Moreover, any group that wishes to revolutionize power structures in Canada must know that the basis of action has got to grow out of the real character of the society with genuine love and respect for what the people in it are. Only that way can the people genuinely be served. Those who attempt to revolutionize Canadian power forces must seek the roots of action in the best values of Canadians now. All the experience and the best minds of the world can be brought in to help. But a revolutionary movement that does not love, respect, and use, primarily, the best aspects of the Canadian culture and character will most likely be a colonialized movement and will fail, ultimately to serve the Canadian people. One of the primary characteristics of a colonialized left is a fundamental contempt for the character of the home community.

Finally, there are many good things about Canadian culture when it is not erased or obscured. Canadians have always had a communal sense because of the historic threat to their survival. They have always had a sense of international responsibility. Throughout the literature of Canada there is a denial of exploitation and imperialism. Long long

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long before Pollution Probes the finest Canadian artists were saying that Canadians had to learn to live with nature and in nature rather than over nature. That is a fundamental philosophical rejection of the free enterprise, capitalist, individualist ~~rape~~ ideology. That rejection is present and real in Canadian intellectual history.

There is in Canadian culture, quite clearly, a basis for an an indigenous movement to independence, socialism, and a quality of life that respects the earth and the other peoples of the earth. There are a number of very good things about Canadian culture despite the fact that it has been twisted and exploited for over two hundred years by three major imperial powers.

But those good things are discoverable neither in the New York Times, the Manchester Guardian nor Le Monde.

All that has to do with independence maybe. What has it to do with Socialism?

(1) Canadians do not know the history of the left, of trade unions in Canada. They are unaware of major moves in Canadian history to destroy Canadian unionism and to replace it with U.S. business unionism. They do not know that among major writers and thinkers through a lot of Canada's history there has been a basis of thought upon which to build an indigenous socialist movement. They are content to have socialism in the country pushed into a maverick corner as if it was not soundly based in Canadian history, life, and thought. Ask the child of any worker in Canada about the Winnipeg Strike, about One Big Union, and find the ignorance present. They do not know about the special relation between conservatism and socialism in Canada: the implications of Red/Tory'ism for building a socialist movement.

It is fair to say that in any colony the move to know the history of one's own country and people is revolutionary. Because to replace the imperial information with one's own information is the beginning of moving the empire over and out. In Canada there is an additional revolutionary aspect in knowing the truth about the past and the people of Canada. (a) Canada's history is a colonial history. (b) In literature and art a major theme is the imperial/colonial theme. (c) to unearth the struggle against empire is also to unearth the collaboration of the Canadian capitalist class with imperial and capitalist/imperial power.

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(d) a realization of the class manipulation of Canada's wealth and resources for the wealth of a class forces Canadians to realize the need to replace the capitalist system and the class that is created by it.

Moreover, the return of power to Canadians must be done in a Socialist way, for there is little value in regaining Canadian culture for the supporters of a capitalist, quasi-imperialist free enterprise group. In fact it is impossible to do so. To develop values that respect life, the earth, justice, and human well-being outside of a viciously competitive system, demands a complete turning away from capitalism.

But the population of Canada today, even the workers, are not socialist, as we know, and so the demand that power be returned to the people of Canada is part of a politicization process that must help the people to understand, to prize, and to struggle for the socialist ends envisioned by the people at this conference. For the return of power to the people of Canada means the ownership and control of resources and industry, the ownership and operation of communication and publication; it means a dynamic sense of education which involves Canadians in education for wholly new reasons and to effect wholly different ends. But the demand for the return of power involves all of the cultural instrumentalities that we have talked about. And we must know that people operate the cultural instrumentalities. People are the artists, journalists, writers, publishers, union leaders and advisors, broadcasters, film makers, legal advisors, judges, professors, teachers, and so on who operate the instrumentalities of culture. To move culture on the socialist/independence question is to move a huge segment of the working population -- the working population that communicates knowledge, that passes information to others, one of the most important segments of the population in any move that requires politicization, through information. To begin to move the people who operate the instrumentalities of culture in this country to a socialist/independentist position is to begin to destroy the U.S. empire's monopoly of knowledge here.

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## The Argument for Option Five

Canadian social democracy is in crisis. The Waffle has played a historic role in provoking that crisis. The speech by Stephen Lewis at Oshawa, the Hamilton Mountain resolution and the Orillia meeting itself are simply expressions of much deeper strains within the NDP, strains which have a concrete base in the changing conditions of Canadian and world capitalism.

Only five years ago, the NDP was in a relatively quiescent period. Although social forces outside the NDP were being set in motion, the leadership of the party was expounding more and more a concerned liberalism. While they claimed to lead a party of the left, they were incapable of responding positively to the growing radicalization of youth, women and other groups in society. They were able to produce only the weakest of programs in response to the growing dominance of the American empire. While they claimed to lead the working class, their support for direct class struggle consisted of "vote NDP" slogans.

But within the NDP, there were many who were themselves being radicalized, who more clearly understood the Canadian political reality and were determined to make the NDP come to terms with that reality. The Waffle became the organized expression of this political development. The present crisis is the outcome of the clash between a party leadership which is totally parliamentarist and which attempts to show the Canadian people how it would administer capitalism better than the present bourgeois governments, and the politics of thousands of NDPers who understand this as a betrayal of the interests of the working class.

The onslaught of the party leadership came when the Waffle began to threaten, however weakly, the bureaucratic alliance between the political and trade-union leadership of the NDP. To the extent that the attack had anything to do with our structures, it was because they gave our politics strength. Our activities in the labour movement - in the Texpack strike, at the OFL convention and at the Windsor conference on the Auto Pact - provoked a nervous trade-union brass into demanding our ouster from the NDP. The Auto Pact conference was the precipitating incident. The Waffle has failed to make any serious evaluation of that conference - the brief examination which follows is essential to an understanding of subsequent events.

### The Auto Pact Conference

The Windsor Auto Pact conference was the Waffle's most serious intervention in labour politics around a concrete and immediate issue. This action posed, for the first time in a practical way, the proposition to which the Waffle has long been committed: Only through politically motivated mass industrial action can the working class or any section of it effectively advance its interests. We called for the preservation of the Auto Pact, not through the letter-writing campaign of Ed Broadbent, nor through the militant-sounding but essentially empty statements of Dennis McDermott, but through a mobilization of workers in a direct struggle for class demands. The official UAW leadership saw this as a threatening development.

Our action was a success - one which lay primarily in the fact that we succeeded in involving a large part of the leadership elements of every serious left grouping in the UAW. The high point of the conference was a clear call for industrial action by Gordon Lambert of Local 199 of the UAW. His call was enthusiastically applauded. The brass' response was not long in coming. McDermott publicly attacked the Waffle for "interfering in the internal affairs of the UAW", and a few weeks later we were denounced in a motion presented by the leadership and passed at the UAW Council. For a brief period the reverberations of our action were heard throughout the UAW and for a moment it might have been possible to provoke a really sharp conflict. That moment was lost.

One point stands out with regard to the Waffle response at the time. Despite the seriousness of the struggle and the potential of the situation, no responsible body of the Waffle met to consider our over-all strategy or our further responses. With only a few Waffle people aware of the situation, the Auto Pact campaign was quickly liquidated, leaving nothing in its wake save Hamilton Mountain, Lewis's speech, Orillia and the present situation confronting the Waffle. It is our view that the retreat of the Waffle leadership began during the Auto Pact crisis and has culminated now in the proposal to dissolve the Waffle as an organized left caucus in the NDP and to form the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada (MISC).

To sum up: Windsor was an aggression. In politics as in war, an aggression must be followed by a determined defence combined with a broadening of the battle front if it is not to lead to a major rout. No amount of backtracking or temporizing can stop an opponent from pressing the counter-attack home, once aroused to a really forceful response. It is in an attempt to stop the Waffle leadership's headlong retreat that our proposed strategy is directed.

#### Forward to Orillia - The Making of an Anticlimax

A brief review of the events since Stephen Lewis's speech is necessary for an understanding of the present situation. As is well known, the supporters of this paper were dissatisfied with the political strategy pursued by the Waffle leadership during the struggle against Hamilton Mountain and the Vichet report. The details of these disagreements are not especially germane at this point. What is important is the political direction that we posed.

In the period before Oshawa we argued that Lewis was being forced to move towards the suppression of the Waffle and that manoeuvres with the party leadership would not resolve the crisis. After Oshawa, we presented a paper which projected our strategy for the fight up to the Orillia conference. We argued that "We have to link the organizational questions to the political issues which are the main concern of the rank and file," and that "the position taken by the organized right in close alliance with Stephen Lewis et al. is one that leaves no significant grounds for negotiation or compromise." We argued that a stalemate could be achieved if the Waffle

engaged in a militant counter-attack and fully mobilized all of its forces. The continuing calls for a Waffle conference (from at least three of the Waffle groups) for example, as a means of fuiling the struggle, went unheeded.

The strategy pursued by the Waffle was 'to turn towards the contro of the party' in the hope that, though they certainly did not agree with our politics, they could be moved on the constitutional issues of the right of a caucus to exist within the NDP. Instead of assembling our forces and standing our political ground, we retreated politically and diluted our position to win over politically weaker elements of the NDP. We continually apologized for our behaviour towards the unions - a letter that went out to all NDP ridings and Waffle supporters from Mol Watkins stated that: "It has become very clear that the most important source of tension within the Party is the breakdown in communications (!!!!) between the Waffle and official union leadership." The whole point of the exercise was that the unions understood our politics only too well.

Our paper also noted:

The issue we are now facing is not a problem of mobilizing the centre on a policy question. The reality of the situation is that the centre people are precisely those who accept Lewis's argument against Waffle structures at their face value, without understanding the power elements in the struggle ....To the extent that centre people do come to terms with the question of power, they will realize that it is in their objective interest not to have an organized left within the party. The existence of such a left precludes their playing an influential role in the party.

Contrist opposition to a purge, we believed, could easily be co-opted in the end by some ambiguous formulation. The nature of the Riverdale resolution bears out the truth of this argument.

We chose to play under their rules and to fight for every vote in a game that was fixed from the start. And, in a situation in which the chance of our winning a majority of the provincial council was negligible, we accepted their definition of the defeat at Orillia. Instead of solidifying our forces in preparation for the struggle after our certain loss in a vote at Orillia, many in the Waffle have seen this vote as a final and catastrophic defeat.

We are confounded by such an understanding of Orillia, as is now being argued by MISC supporters, when it is clear to so many rank and filers (over some who are not pro-Waffle) that it is entirely correct and necessary to carry the fight at least to convention. Arguing the finality of the decision is tantamount to recognizing the legitimacy of any so-called representative body that is to a large extent controlled by people whose power rests only on the effective passivity of the mass whom they supposedly represent. We always knew that labour representation on provincial council was stacked with business agents and other bureaucrats. At least

at convention, the labour representation would be composed of more rank and filers who could not be controlled so easily. Even if the vote at convention were proportionately the same as at Orillia, the number of our supporters would be larger and the contact made with unionists far greater. Those who support MISC not only abandon these people to the right wing leadership, but throw away a most important opportunity for strengthening our position among important sections of NDP activists.

What then would our strategy before Orillia have accomplished? Our concern was to build upon the political strengths of the Waffle, to ensure that the group emerged stronger and more united from its first confrontation with the party. This would have meant defining the debate in terms of political differences, which the party leadership obviously wanted to obscure; it would have involved continuing intensive activity around those sensitive issues that had already brought us rank-and-file union or riding support (e.g. the Auto Pact, strike support). Our over-all purpose was the creation of a Waffle strong and united enough to conduct a long and effective fight.

### The NDP and the Working Class

The Waffle has worked in the NDP because it has argued that the party is a crucial arena for Socialists. Krista Macoos, in a paper she presented last December, stated:

In struggling for independence and socialism, the Waffle group has been working in the NDP. We have done this because within English Canada, the NDP has brought together the most politically conscious elements of the working class. The rank-and-file members of the party and the affiliated rank-and-file unionists are large elements of the core around which the socialist movement must be built. The reality of the NDP must be faced.

To attempt to ignore the NDP and the necessity of advancing the struggle for independence and socialism within it would be to choose the role of a sect. (our emphasis)

Did Orillia change this reality? Does a vote at a council meeting change the social and political nature of the NDP? Those presently supporting MISC are able to throw their analysis out of the window when it suits them.

Unfortunately for them, Orillia hasn't changed the fact that the NDP, through its links with the union bureaucracy, exercises considerable hegemony over working-class politics in Canada. Many class-conscious workers still see the NDP as the only relevant political formation. The vast majority of the most politicized union locals remain affiliated to the NDP. Campaigns like Dunlop, Ryerson Press and the Auto Pact could not have happened had we not been part of the NDP. And Orillia hasn't changed the fact that many within the party ranks are developing politically and are increasingly open to socialist ideas. On the other hand, there are not large numbers of workers outside the NDP waiting to flock to a new formation.

Any objective evaluation of the degree to which the industrial working class of Ontario is beginning to move in the direction of contestation on any level, whether economist or political, will indicate the truth of this contention. Outside of baldly stating that workers in the single-industry towns are moving in a radical direction, the supporters of MISC have not and indeed cannot point to any concrete evidence. On the contrary, the evidence of the state of 'labour relations' in basic Ontario industry and mining unhappily points to continued quiescence for the next while, and no amount of wishful thinking can overcome this reality.

### The Option Five Strategy

We believe that the Waffle is capable of preventing a purge while at the same time maintaining a clear and principled political direction. Indeed, we believe that only by continuing the struggle within the NDP can the Waffle survive as a powerful force on the Canadian left. At the London conference the Waffle should re-affirm its intention of remaining as an organized left caucus in the NDP. We should also declare our intention to launch mass campaigns, under the sponsorship of riding associations and union locals - campaigns based on militant class politics. We propose the following three campaigns, though others should certainly be considered:

- 1) A determined effort to mobilize rank-and-file unionists and their allies into direct action aimed at stopping the operation of strike-breaking companies in Ontario. Since it is often women who work in the small plants where strike-breaking tactics are so effective, such a campaign is an important means of injecting the dimension of the super-exploitation of women workers into class struggle. We should press for a commitment from the party to outlaw strike-breaking operations if the NDP gains power. But more importantly, we must stress that such legislative changes can only be realized as the culmination of a mass struggle by the working class.
- 2) a campaign around the sellout of Canadian resources to be centred mainly in northern Ontario. In the mining areas such a campaign can be linked to the question of the working conditions affecting the health of miners.
- 3) A concerted educational campaign around the right of Quebec to self-determination and around the present working-class upsurge there. The campaign should be combined with work outside the NDP around this issue. This will become particularly critical work when the next crisis occurs in Quebec.

We should not be fetishist about our organizational forms. In fact we must be prepared to adjust these forms to avoid unnecessary and confusing provocations on structural and organizational questions. This in no way means compromising our basic principle of remaining an organized caucus in the NDP and certainly does not mean compromising our politics. What it does mean is that we ensure that the struggle takes place on political grounds. This

necessarily entails a de-emphasis on press conference politics, etc. For example, if we organize a campaign on strike-breaking through the riding associations and trade-union locals, it would be impossible for the party leadership to attack us on organizational questions. It would force them to attack our politics, since they are committed to channelling the working class into parliamentary politics instead of militant class struggle.

Such campaigns should be conducted in a manner totally integrated with any defence campaign which is necessary - should the party leadership begin expulsions. It would be a mistake, indeed a repetition of the failing strategy we pursued prior to Orillia, to separate the defence of our position in the NDP from the other forms of political activity we undertake.

Those who argue that a defence campaign and any further work as an organized caucus in the NDP are a sterile waste of energy embrace defeatism and fail to understand the nature of the political struggle. Defence campaigns have always been a major component of socialist political practice. It is hardly necessary to give examples. Within bourgeois democratic societies and their institutions, there have been great and successful mass mobilizations in defence of individual radicals or groups. The reason for this lies primarily in the contradiction between the permissive rhetoric of liberalism (including its social democratic variant) and its repressive reality. One of the central myths propagated by liberals is that dissent is allowed and encouraged. As socialists have long pointed out however, the extent to which dissent has been 'allowed' has never been dependent on some general adherence to an abstract principle, but has been dependent instead on the balance of power. In other words, when dissent is well organized and widespread, repression follows. One of the important ways in which people are radicalized is through a developing understanding that there are those who are prepared to suppress individuals and groups who hold ideas and engage in actions that in "normal time" are considered to be politically legitimate.

It is one thing to debate the abstract right of caucuses to exist and quite another to vote for the expulsion from the NDP of hundreds of members whose political work is recognized as having made a valuable contribution to NDP political activity. Should an attempt to purge begin, the situation we would face would be quite different than the one faced at Orillia. Rank-and-file members will think differently about the question when faced with a series of expulsions of individuals who are spread throughout the riding associations. We believe that many ridings will defy expulsion orders emanating from 11½ Spadina. Each expelled member of our caucus would then continue to work in his or her local riding. While it is difficult to imagine the High Park riding association following orders to expel Mel Watkins and Bill Temple, it is equally as difficult to imagine any number of ridings expelling lesser-known but long-time party activists and workers.

By combining a defence campaign with ongoing political work, especially around mass campaigns, the real nature of the crisis in social democracy is made absolutely clear. There can be no confusion that the struggle is simply an inter-bureaucratic one.

So we argue that there can be no retreat. There are those who respond that our strategy is simply a provocation and nothing more - that we want to be expelled. If what is meant by those who make this response is that we are not prepared to abandon the struggle, then they are correct. But beyond that, they misunderstand. We fight in the NDP because of our analysis that it is a critical arena for socialists who recognize that the power now exercised by the party leadership over working-class politics in Canada must be broken. Walking out of the NDP, refusing to fight for a political position after only one tactical setback, indicates a profound lack of seriousness.

We advocate our strategy because we think it is the only way to continue to broaden and deepen the political differentiation within the NDP, while at the same time preventing a purge. Our strategy can effectively mobilize both Wafflers and non-Wafflers in the party around a combined defence and political campaign. Our support can only be greater and stronger as a result. Its effect can be that the party leadership will have to back off or destroy substantial sections of the NDP in its attempt to purge the strongest and most viable political current to have developed within its ranks in two decades.

Finally, let us deal with one other form of argument against our strategy. Leading Wafflers have suggested that, in fact, this is not the strategy we propose, that some "hidden agenda" awaits to pounce on those foolish enough to agree with our argument. This line of attack is carefully combined with a campaign of vicious red-baiting in the David Lewis tradition. Such attacks, of course, substitute character assassination for political debate, label opponents as liars and raise the hoary bogeys of "subversive trotskyism," "brooping new leftism" and "totalitarian leninism." We have no hidden agenda - in fact, our political strategy is more openly defined than the "perhaps," "maybes," and "ifs" of the MISC proponents. We state categorically that the strategy we propose is the only one that the Waffle can pursue at present, if it is serious about developing the forces that will, in the long run, aid in bringing the class struggle to a decisive level.

### A MISCAventure

Let us examine briefly some of the MISC "analysis". The MISC proposals present some brief documentation of the problems facing the working class in Canada, arising primarily out of the imperial relationship between Canada and the US. Then we are told: "All this underlines the need for an anti-imperialist movement that will necessarily be socialist." The obviousness of the platitudes is excruciating. Surely there are few among us who have yet to be convinced of the "need" for an anti-imperialist movement. The question is how to build one, not to establish the "need."

The MISC papers then announce that: "In the resource towns and the single-industry cities, the consciousness of Canadian workers is rising. In places like Sudbury and Windsor, the positive response to Waffle ideas has been indicative of the potential." Now this may be so, though in practice the Waffle has drawn most of its activists from places like Toronto and Ottawa, and the evidence we are given of the rising consciousness is scanty. Nevertheless the more important point is that it is precisely in these centres that the working-class base of the NDP is strongest and the prospect of MISC is least relevant to the concrete political process. In Sudbury, activists who support the Waffle continue to work in the NDP - indeed, it is here that the strength of the party means that future mobilizations are likely to find their outlet in the NDP, and of course, the trade unions. What are the social forces in these towns that are going to support MISC? Wafflers in these areas are not so keen to desert their base in the NDP just because of the decision at Orillia. But never mind. As Kelly Crichton says: "visions are dancing in my head of all kinds of unknown socialists just waiting to justly endow the new movement." The difference between visions and analysis is what we are talking about.

MISC is a blatant attempt to have the best of ten different worlds. The result will be that it will have the best of none. Who supports MISC? There are those who see it as a way of avoiding expulsion from the NDP and cooling things out. Some of the people who fall into this category are individuals who have not supported us in the past and have involved themselves opportunistically to safeguard the present direction of the NDP, and to remove political tensions which they find uncomfortable.

There are those who have never had any serious involvement in the NDP and want to will a new party into existence - among these there are some who believe that expulsion from the NDP are inevitable under a MISC that organizes around any important issues. There are those who want to wait for the best opportunity to slide back into the NDP, those who reject any form of electoral political activity and those who see MISC as the extra-parliamentary wing of the NDP (or if you will, the NDP as the parliamentary wing of MISC). And, of course, there are those who see MISC as a budding opportunity to exclude all manner of political tendencies that are not in clear agreement with the Waffle leadership. Despite such attempts, MISC will not achieve political unity, precisely because there is no unity to begin with. A movement like this will last two or three years, with its demoralized membership drifting back individually to a party more closed than before to left politics.

In serious socialist politics you can't play these tricky games of appealing to a dozen different political opinions, of constructing intricate scenarios, and expect to provide, at the same time, the kind of clear and determined political leadership that the struggle against capitalism requires. Do those who support MISC believe that leaving the party firmly in the hands of its reactionary leadership

will make future radicalization within the NDP easier or more possible? Do those who support MISC believe that you can withdraw from the struggle in the party, wait until a future radicalization develops and return to lead the struggle? There may be those who will question your ability to lead such a struggle on the basis of past practice, and it just may be that the future radicalization will produce its own leadership. At any rate, the balance of forces within the NDP will change if the Waffle walks out, and the change will not be to our advantage.

And to the supporters of MISC who see it as the beginning of a new political party we ask: Why should the working class look to a political formation (which, as MISC supporters acknowledge, has no working-class base) which has not been of their making, which has not emerged from their class struggles? "We must face the reality of Orillia," the MSC documents state. It is rather the reality of class politics in Canada which we must face, and it is precisely on this score that the architects of MISC have little to say.

As much as many of us are frustrated with our work in the NDP, we must understand that a movement composed almost entirely of students, intellectuals and professionals cannot effectively intervene in class struggles. It has been difficult enough to make contact with militant workers and labour activists from within the NDP. It will be even more difficult outside the party. There is no shortcut to winning the working class to socialism. The struggle within the NDP has yet to be waged.

Joe Flexer  
Varda Kidd  
Jackie Larkin  
Harold Lavender  
Susan Kent  
Donna McCombs  
Mike Ornstein  
Steve Penner  
Bret Smiley

# WHICH WAY FOR WAFFLE? <sup>(1972)</sup>

In spite of the recent Ontario election results the political mood in Ontario and Canada is changing. This radicalization is most obvious amongst young people; and a lot of it is outside the NDP as for example in the Anti-War movement, the women's struggle for the right to have abortions the tenants' movement and many other community struggles. The question therefore before this meeting is: What role does the NDP have to play in winning Canada to socialism and where do we in the Waffle fit in?

Right across the country, the Waffle has never fully come to grips with this question. The Waffle has been pulled into two directions. On the one hand we have tended to get too much submerged into the Party, often finding it difficult to affect the Party. This has happened in some election campaigns and especially also in areas where we had to relate to an NDP government, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. On the other hand we have often been pulled away from the Party. This has happened in such campaigns as the Texpack struggle, the energy resource campaign, in our relation to the day to day life of the ridings, and in many of our own meetings.

Before we can know the relevance of the NDP and our own relation to it, we have to understand where the working class is at, for it alone can bring about socialism. Are workers by-passing the NDP and their bureaucratic trade union leaders who are heavily involved in the leadership of the NDP? The recent Ontario elections answer this question. The vast majority of workers did not vote for the NDP; nor did they boycott the elections or vote for the Communist Party in protest. No, they voted for the Tories and Liberals, the bosses' parties. Only the most militant and politically conscious workers voted for the NDP; but the NDP is where they are.

While the NDP is by no means a developed socialist party, it is a party outside the control of the bosses. It responds to the demands of the class to the extent that workers are conscious and press for them. The role for socialists is therefore to realize the weaknesses of the NDP and to help the class to overcome them. This means now and for a considerable time to come, working in the NDP. (The fact that many of the persons who are critical of the Waffle's NDP orientation have to keep coming around the NDP only further proves this.)

Once the correctness of working in the NDP is accepted, it is crucial to understand how to win it over to a socialist program. Some of the tasks which pose themselves immediately are the following:

1. We should accept the opportunity to be NDP candidates wherever possible, in municipal, provincial, and federal elections. Where we are not candidates, we want to help make the campaign as militant as possible.
2. We want to take the Party into the areas where radicalization is taking place: the Anti-War movement, the women's struggle for the right to have abortions, the community struggles and the students' struggles. Substituting ourselves for the Party won't work however.
3. We must continually develop our program to be relevant to the radicalizing sectors of the class and to lead the class forward towards a socialist understanding. This is specially important to Waffle in areas where the NDP is in power.
4. We must strive to replace the reformist and opportunist leadership of the Party with one that is committed to go all the way to socialism and won't be satisfied with a patched up capitalism.
5. Last but not least we must put up a determined fight for our right to be in the NDP and for the legitimacy of our intentions of winning the rest of the Party to our ideas.

TO ACHIEVE THESE TASKS WE HAVE TO BE DEEPLY INTEGRATED AND COMMITTED MEMBERS OF THE NDP.

submitted by Hans Medlich (LSA ed.)

## THE MOVEMENT OPTION:

### TOWARDS THE BUILDING OF CANADIAN INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM

The Waffle today is facing a serious challenge to its existence. We must realistically determine what the ONDP's decision at Orillia means for the future of the Waffle and its struggle for an independent socialist Canada. We must map out a strategy in which the policies of the Waffle continue to develop and reach out to more Canadians.

In the current political situation, Canada is under continuing pressure to be assimilated culturally and economically into the United States. The river of resource deals continues to flow down across the border: Northwestern Ontario electricity is sold to the U.S.; Imperial Oil wants to sell more natural gas; Quebec's water resources are being diverted in order that American air conditioning can keep its cool; the list goes on.

As the United States strives to make Canada a resource base for its industrial machine, we face further foreign takeovers and the de-industrialization of our country. As a resource base, Canada will continue to not be able to provide enough jobs for its people, nor decide the direction of its economy.

All this underlines the need for an anti-imperialist movement, one that will necessarily be socialist. There is a basis in the reality of Canadian life for such a movement. In the resource towns and the single industry cities, the consciousness of Canadian workers is rising. In places like Sudbury and Windsor, the positive response to Waffle ideas has been indicative of the potential.

What has been the institutional response to the growing sentiment for independence and for socialism?

Two events of significance have occurred in the past several months. One can be quickly dismissed: the Liberal government has proved unwilling even to adopt the recommendations of the Gray Report, revealing once more how feeble is the option of an independent capitalist Canada.

Much more important for us, at Orillia on June 24, the Ontario NDP rejected the politics of independence and socialism. Although varying interpretations were given to the Riverdale Resolution which passed, the intent of the leadership of the party was clear. In effect, the Waffle organization and the politics it professes were expelled from the party. For the time being, at least, the ONDP will continue to fight for small scale reforms without challenging the system of foreign-dominated corporate capitalism, which is the heart of the problem.

Some people read this institutional failure of the NDP as meaning that the potential for socialist struggle has been lessened. But the potential for the movement remains; only the capacity of that movement to express itself through the NDP has changed.

What are the options left for the Waffle to pursue? In internal debate so far, five distinct options have emerged.

Option 1, complete acceptance of the Riverdale Resolution, would almost certainly lead to the dissolution of the Waffle and effective abandonment of the struggle to which we have committed ourselves.

Option 4, the establishment of a new socialist party, means leaving most of our friends in the centre of the NDP and closes the door on possible radicalization of the party. Most importantly, the founding of a new socialist party without a strong labour base is likely to prove extremely hazardous.

Option 2, organizing within the NDP to the limits of the resolution passed at Orillia, has two serious limitations. The first is that the organization permitted by the Riverdale Resolution will be so constrained that it will be ineffectual. The second is that all of the group's efforts will, by necessity, be directed inside the NDP and no further work could be done to carry our ideas to the public.

Option 5, fighting within the NDP to carry on as before is a disastrous strategy. To argue for a fight to the December convention is to deny the reality of Orillia. In spite of virtually all the Waffle's energy over the past few months being devoted to a province wide fight, and in spite of our willingness before Orillia to make substantial concessions, the ONDP decisively rejected the right of a left caucus to exist inside the party.

In order to fight for our right to exist in the party, we need a province wide organization. But Orillia denied us the right to that organization; if we continue to maintain it, we will be faced with the consuming effort of fighting expulsions. We cannot win in December; the apocalypse will come in the form of mass expulsions.

If this apocalypse is seen as a desired outcome, this too, like the myth of winning the convention, would prove a delusion. There is no reason to believe that expulsions would generate wide sympathy and create the base for a new movement. Indeed, the centrists are likely to remain loyal as they did at Orillia, while expulsions risk making a shambles of Waffle unity on future strategy.

In either case, all our energies for the next half year as well as the previous period, would be directed inside the party. We would be unable to deal with fundamental political questions; any extra-parliamentary activity, to which we are strongly committed, could not be undertaken in a serious way. The confusion and bitterness created by the war within the NDP would dampen considerably our public credibility.

In order to return to the political work that must be done, we must continue to operate in an open and public manner. The vehicle through which we propose to carry on the work of the Waffle, is a "movement" for an independent socialist Canada. The movement would operate entirely outside the NDP and would not be directly involved in electoral politics. Nor would it serve as a base for organizing a caucus within the NDP either in policy debate or in the election of officers. It would carry on a combination of education and action, appealing directly to the people of Ontario for support and participation.

The old criterion that you must be an NDP member to be in the Waffle would not apply in the new movement. Because there will be no formal or informal relationship with the NDP, the question of NDP membership would be left up to the individual. Those who retain membership could provide a channel whereby ideas and actions developed within the movement can be communicated to NDPers through riding associations and union affiliates. Because this option eschews intervention in the internal affairs of the NDP, it escapes the immediate likelihood of a purge.

The movement will not be in direct competition with the NDP because it is not a political party. Instead the movement will be carrying out those political activities which cannot be done through the NDP at this time. If the NDP in the future becomes more radical and is willing to accept our ideas, then our focus could return to the NDP. On the other hand, if this does not occur and our movement grows into a serious socialist force, then it could be the basis of a new socialist party.

There are many things that can be done by the new movement:

- emphasis on organizing outside Toronto and Ottawa to take advantage of higher consciousness in single-industry and resource extractive centres;
- badly needed research on the branch plant structure of individual Ontario cities and towns can be done as a basis for political organizing in those communities;
- research and campaigns on cultural independence, particularly around the schools and the media;
- the development of a province-wide newspaper for working people;
- co-ordinated campaigns on issues such as resource sellouts, de-industrialization, environmental destruction and plant shutdowns;
- serious strike support as around Texpack, instead of token support; serious follow-up work done with unionists after the strike;
- a conference on the problems facing employees in the public sector - such as the imposition of wage guidelines, denial of the right to strike etc; a number of West Metro Wafflers are already prepared to help organize this in Toronto;
- organizing women in the workplace, particularly in white collar industries.
- involving Waffle people in community organizing in a serious way.

The structure of the new movement would have to be more formal than the Waffle's has been. Originally, Waffle structures grew up on a more or less spontaneous basis, with little attempt to link structure and ideology. In this past year, a serious attempt was made at Hamilton to correct structural problems; a representative steering committee system and a communications committee were set up.

In spite of this, our structures have not been entirely satisfac-

tory, a situation that can partly be attributed to the divisions within the Waffle that have become clear recently.

From the beginning there have been three streams of thought within the Waffle. The first and perhaps the largest is the group that became involved to join an anti-imperialist movement dedicated to the struggle for independence and socialism. This group was committed to work within the NDP because it believed the party offered the base for such a struggle and because the group believed in the intermeshing of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activity. The second group were and are active NDPers who believe in a left programme for the party and see the Waffle as a "ginger group" within the Party. Orillia poses a serious dilemma for this group, but it can be resolved by joining the movement and continuing as individuals within the NDP. The third group is comprised of various organized and unorganized tendencies on the left who have no commitment to the NDP nor, primarily, to the Waffle. Some of them see as their task the "exposure of the bankruptcy of social democracy", others the building of a vanguard within the NDP and Waffle to work with "progressive elements". In other words, a common cause does not exist throughout our movement. The problem can be resolved by creating a new movement with a clearly defined cause.

Because of the destructive effect of some of the left tendencies within the Waffle, membership in the new movement should be limited to those committed to the building of a democratic mass socialist movement.. Members of organizations such as the Young Socialists, League for Socialist Action, Canadian Party of Labour and the Canadian Liberation Movement would then not be permitted to join.

In setting up structures, a blending of centralization and decentralization would be required. "Ad hocery" at any level is to be avoided. Surely what we want to build is a working class, province-wide movement, not a middle class Toronto debating society. The solution lies in creating strong, formal decision-making structures, which means elected delegates, regular meetings, published agendas and as rapid as possible communication of decisions made. The movement must, of course, be a membership, not a "mailing list" organization.

There should be established at London a provincial organizing committee with clearly defined duties and powers, and a decision made to have a founding convention of the movement within a specified time to which the provincial organizing committee will be accountable.

Decentralization should come naturally, once the movement is set up. Local groups will be able to take initiatives wherever they feel it necessary. Meanwhile, the provincial body would be engaged in province wide work, such as a newspaper, publishing, planning provincial initiatives and ensuring that organizing is constantly going on.

With a solid foundation, the new movement can get underway soon with a burst of educational and action-oriented activity, instead of divisively and fruitlessly waging war within the NDP. Then the real work of fighting for a Canada which is socialist and independent can begin.

(1972)

The attached document is a general description of a proposal to transform the Waffle into a Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada.

We, the undersigned, support this proposal in principle, while actively examining its details. We seek election as delegates from the West Metro Waffle to the London Conference on August 19 and 20 on this platform.

Lyn Center

~~✓~~ Kelly Crichton

Linda Hay

~~✓~~ Susan Heap

~~████████████████████~~

Margaret Rolfe

Betsy Slye

Gladys Watson

~~✓~~ Lynne Williams

Valerie Whitehouse

Principle

Ed Bazyllinski

Odoardo Di Santo

~~✓~~ Dan Heap

~~✓~~ Gord Laxer

~~✓~~ Milton Little

~~✓~~ Dan Sunstrum

~~✓~~ Bill Temple

~~✓~~ Mel Watkins

John Watson

## A CONTRIBUTION TO THE TRADE UNION DISCUSSION

This Waffle conference is held in the setting of an international assault by corporations and capitalist governments on the workers. Phases I and II of Nixon's economic "game plan" attempt to shift the economic burden of the Vietnam war on to the backs of the working class. Workers defending their working standard and living conditions will increasingly be forced into confrontation with their bosses and governments. Trade union bureaucrats like Woodcock, Abel, and Meany, sitting on Nixon's Pay Board will be warily scrutinized by politicizing workers. Canadian workers will look more and more to the NDP to defend their class interests.

What is posed, though, is more than the politicization of the class - the leadership of the class is at stake. Will the NDP remain under the control of the parliamentary reformists and the trade union bureaucrats who seek no programmatic break with the capitalist system; or can the left propel NDP'ers into mass struggles for real social change and for a new, socialist leadership of the party?

The radicalization of which Waffle is a part has not yet deeply penetrated the trade unions. Yet we have tended to shift our work in the past period toward the unions - in a somewhat unbalanced manner - neglecting the main areas of radicalization which can have a big impact on the NDP and class struggle as a whole. This shift followed the April 1971 Federal NDP Convention where the Waffle ran up against the brass' machine. It stems from a recognition of the power and centrality of the organized working class and its indispensability in effecting a any social change. This recognition is necessary - but in our opinion the sharp turn is not. The latest example of this shift, the Windsor Auto pact conference, had the effect of substituting the Waffle for the union movement and the process of radicalization which is only in its infancy. Interventions of this sort - without a real base - leave the Waffle open to demagogic smears from bureaucrats like McDermott. It is questionable whether workers will be mobilized at this stage over economic nationalist appeals about the continental energy deal or the auto pact.

In fact, the Bell strike, which revealed a real combativity and feminist consciousness and the Amhitka upsurge which saw 60,000 B.C. workers down their tools indicate that feminist, anti-war and Canadian nationalist sentiment from the independent movements are radicalizing factors in the trade union movement.

Workers will not act on radical rhetoric from outside their ranks. Concern for jobs, working conditions, the inadequacy of the present leadership will generally be expressed in demands for rank and file control over the unions, Canadian autonomy to meet the needs of Canadian workers and a fight for a militant class struggle program linked to the fight for an NDP government. The day to day struggle around such issues against the union bureaucrats with the aid of the intervention of socialists rooted in the ranks will speed the process of radicalization among Canadian workers.

The Waffle can not artificially cast itself as the not yet realized radicalization of the workers. Nor can it bypass the existing workers' organizations. Likewise, the development of an explicitly "socialist program for Canadian trade unionists" does not respond to the real challenge before us.

Instead, we must actively build the independent movements - and fight for the leadership of the NDP on a program of support for the emerging mass movements which challenge capitalist society. Carrying the struggle for repeal of the abortion laws, an end to Canadian complicity in and a break with American military alliances directly to NDP members will build the Waffle.

Supporting anti-bureaucratic workers' struggles and popularly posing slogans like Canadian union autonomy, rank and file control of the union and the plant to oppose the brass and "management rights"; 30 hours work for 40 hours pay and a sliding scale of hours to combat unemployment; vacations with full pay instead of lay-offs; COL clauses to combat inflation; and similar planks in a class-struggle program for workers - combined with the impact of the independent radicalizing movements can serve to develop a consciousness in masses of Canadian workers that can bridge the gap between their reformist illusions and anti-capitalist solutions. This can help crystallize a mass left-wing movement in the unions and the NDP out of which a new, militant class struggle leadership will be forged.

Meyer Shapiro CUPW

Stu Sinclair UAW

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CAMPAIGN TO REPEAL THE ABORTION LAWS

The January 28, 1972 court order pulled an Ottawa woman out of hospital and prevented her from obtaining an abortion. This abortion had been approved by a hospital committee on the grounds that the mother's life was endangered and the fetus was probably going to be deformed. This set the precedent that anyone could walk off the street, claim guardianship of any woman's fetus and prevent her from having an abortion; thus forcing motherhood on women who are unwilling, unprepared and unable to care for the child. This case shows that even the limited legal channels which make any abortion without hospital committee approval a criminal act are totally meaningless. Above all it exposed the complete denial of any rights a woman has in determining whether and when she can have a child.

Winning this right for a woman to be the sole judge on whether or not she wishes to have an abortion is a most fundamental step towards the liberation of women. This right is essential in assuring our mental, emotional and physical health. It is essential in ensuring that "every mother is a willing mother" and "every child is a wanted child". (Besides assuring the security of already existing children in a family) It is a basic human right giving us women control over our bodies and lives. It ends that age-old myth that biology is our destiny. No longer can they tell us that money spent on our education is wasted; or hiring or promoting us is a risk because all we would end up doing is getting married and or pregnant. Especially working class women suffer under the present conditions because they lack leisure, funds and connections to go through all the channels to get legal abortions in Canada or abroad.

Those who shrug off a campaign to repeal abortion laws by suggesting that women could win this struggle without major efforts or that women will not further their political consciousness through such a campaign do not realize what we are up against. Women gaining greater self-confidence, asking for more jobs, greater equality, responsibility and dignity is the last thing the government, the courts, big business, and the catholic church want. They will do all in their power to keep women "in their places". Trudeau's stalling and the tremendous funds behind the "Right of Life", "Alliance for Life" and "Birth Right" campaigns clearly indicate the power of the established interests. What other aspect of women's oppression can so effectively demonstrate to the vast number of unpoliticized women the reality of this system, the real forces behind our oppression.

The campaign to win the right to abortion will bring women into direct confrontation with these forces, a confrontation which will pose the question of who are our allies and what is the real solution to our oppression. Of course the NDP and other organizations of the working class such as the trade unions have no vested interest in the status quo. On the contrary, they emerge as the only defenders of women's rights, with socialism being posed as the logical and only solution able to encompass and lead to women's liberation. To assure that women are aware of these "facts of life" socialists have to be directly involved in the struggle. The NDP has to be taken to these women, and these women to the NDP.

Ofcourse, Party and trade union bureaucrats are petrified of precisely these dynamics of the women's movement, because it poses for them an

ongoing and sharp confrontation with the established system, with whom they are hoping to be able to coexist on the basis of a few reforms. But this only puts the onus on us as socialists and activists in the NDP to be seen as the activists in the campaign itself as well as in the Party.

It was we in the Waffle who won the federal and Ontario NDP to its strong stand defending women's rights. The experience in Manitoba has shown that the significance of this position is by no means understood. The Party will require our continuing intervention and education and above all activation to become relevant to radicalizing women.

The campaign has only started. It's scope is yet little understood. Broad coalitions uniting all women behind the need to repeal the abortion laws have been started in every province. In Ontario over a dozen organizations including the Ontario New Democratic Party have given its backing. A massive 100,000 petition campaign behind M.P. McInnis' and Chappell's private members bill, calling for repeal, is being organized. Educational meeting, publications, and campaigns are needed. Rallies and demonstrations are being projected. But unless these can fill the largest arenas in this country the battle won't be won. We have been talking a lot about extra-parliamentary activities, this is going to be the most significant one yet in this century. For the first time since the suffragette movement we have the perspective to mobilize our sisters in a massive social struggle. What a tremendous boost such a victory would mean to us as individuals and as an oppressed majority! It would enable women to feel for the first time our collective strength. We would learn how to organize ourselves, we would gain confidence in ourselves and would create women leaders who could prove to everyone that we are no longer the second sex.

As Wafflers and as socially conscious women we cannot afford to abstain from this challenge. We have got to become the catalysts between the campaign for this basic right and its implications which lead through through the NDP toward a socialist consciousness.

R. Doctorow

(1972)

## THE UNFINISHED AGENDA - TOWARDS A SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Prepared by Henry Dorst after discussions with members of the St. Catharines Waffle Caucus.

Hopefully, this paper will contribute to the very necessary debate which Wafflers must initiate among their ranks at each local level. The debate must lead to a process of consolidating Waffle individuals into cohesive groupings which will be capable of helping to build the socialist movement which does not yet exist. Also as a matter of Waffle survival a process of theoretical and organizational consolidation must begin NOW.

THE WAFFLE is actually a very mixed bag of individual New Democrats who are disenchanted to varying degrees with the bureaucratic and liberal politics of the NDP. This unorganized conglomeration is led by a more cohesive circle of spokesmen. Till now there has been little genuine grass-roots formulation of Waffle policies and strategies. Perhaps it can be said that Waffle leaders consult the rank and file more diligently than the NDP but consultation is no substitute for a process of local collective formulation of policies and strategies with the leadership at the centre acting as coordinators. Without more LOCAL COHESION and greater THEORETICAL CLARITY the Waffle duplicates the major deficiencies of the NDP - lack of organized local action and political naivety will leave the Waffle very vulnerable to various types of attacks.

WAFFLERS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL must engage in a process of Theoretical and Organizational consolidation not only to save THE WAFFLE but in order to effectively end THE UNFINISHED AGENDA which was suggested in the 1969 Waffle Manifesto, of initiating a 'process...of...raising of socialist consciousness, the building of a mass base of socialists and a strategy to make visible the limits of liberal capitalism.'

THE WAFFLE HASN'T WAITED FOR THE NDP to be converted to socialism but has moved out in an extra-parliamentary manner on a number of issues - Dunlop, The Continental Energy Deal, the W.M.A., Texpack and the Auto Pact Safeguards. Those actions and others were effective in that they educated many thousands of Canadian people about political issues. Also, through those actions many working class members were drawn to the Waffle. All the activity of the last 3 years has provided the Waffle with sympathizers among working class people in every community in Canada. That small but crucial base must be drawn into local groups soon.

WE MUST ENSURE THE CONTINUITY OF A SOCIALIST FORCE WHETHER AS A CAUCUS IN THE NDP OR OUTSIDE IT AS LONG AS THE BASIC FUNCTION IS THE CREATION OF AN EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY SOCIALIST MOVEMENT. WE MUST NOT GET SIDETRACKED INTO REACTION POLITICS EXCLUSIVELY.

### Without Theory Action is Mindless

No doubt because working people so often see intellectual activity directed against them there tends to be an impatience with theorizing. This impatience must be overcome. All our actions are based upon theories - conscious or non-conscious, correct or false. Socialists cannot afford to act upon wrong theories. Such mindless action leads inevitably to defeat.

TOGETHER WITH ACTION there must be a continuous process of evaluating results and data (just like the natural scientist) in order to revise and update our theories upon we base each next step. This kind of theorizing is not academic when you consider, for example, how much energy expended in purely electoral action might have been conserved for more productive ends. The false theory upon which 'socialists' have operated for too long is the theory that working class power-socialism-can be won by electing to parliament a plurality of New Democrats.

It should be clear too that THE BOSSES HAVE THEIR OWN THEORETICIANS, the industrial socialologists, psychologists and social scientists (seated in universities supported by workers). The bosses' theoreticians provide the basis for strategies to bust unions and to generally keep the working class confused and

misguided. The function of the establishment's theories is to maintain capitalism and imperialism. The function of our theories is to replace the present system with socialism, to provide the working class and its allies with the eyes and ears to liberate mankind.

As scientists of the working class, many more of us must become re-educated and we don't have and don't need universities necessarily to do it. First of all, we must relearn history as the history of the working class. How much we can learn from the successes and failures of Paris under Workers' Control in 1971, of the Russian Soviets in 1917-19, of the Winnipeg Strike in 1919 and of the rise and decline of C.I.O. militancy..... How much that working class history could teach us about political power (which is not just the number of seats in parliament), about working class apathy (which is not a permanent characteristic but an effect of conditions at particular times), about the impartiality of the state (which is an instrument for dominating many by the few).

Some of us must become teachers to pass onto us the immense wisdom of the philosophers of the working class starting with Marx (but not ending there). THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT DOES NOT MEAN THE ROTE MEMORIZATION OF WRITTEN FORMULAS. OUR THEORIES ARE IN CONSTANT TOUCH WITH AND MODIFIED BY OUR ACTION.

### Local Waffle Caucus Action

Education of Waffle socialists must be tackled as vigorously as possible with some coordination from the top. For the most positive results such educational activities are best carried out collectively. That is one reason why scattered Wafflers should draw together into local groups where this is not already the case and even if only 5 or 6 Wafflers can get together regularly.

A more important reason for local grouping is to maximize the effectiveness of Waffle socialists as mass educators and organizers at the local level.

Besides building centrally coordinated campaigns (eg. the Auto-Pact) the more important FUNCTION OF LOCAL WAFFLE GROUPS IS TO INITIATE AND WORK WITH LOCAL PRO-WORKING CLASS STRUGGLES AND PROJECTS. Great national campaigns of a single or narrow-issue nature fail to engage more than a few thousand people all across Canada. As we become theoretically developed we will be capable of picking out the many facets of the class struggle which so often go unnoticed while we look for issues. Socialists must become capable of providing insight and leadership in those facets of the class struggle which people at every local level perceive as being most immediate and important. There are 'issues' at all levels of life (lack of recreational space, need for day-care, inhuman urban planning, loneliness....) which result from the alienated relationship of the majority to the means of production, which result from capitalism, which can be made into focal points for socialist organization. Socialist struggles and projects, initially on many fronts, in communities as well as in places of work are like the many small streams which eventually merge into one great flood. THE ONE SINGLE ISSUE FOR US IS SOCIALISM.

If we are serious about building a movement we <sup>must</sup> build a struggle from the bottom up on issues defined by the people around us at the local level (that could also mean in the factory, office or school). That is the only manner in which we can engage the hundreds of thousands who don't come to our meetings and our demonstrations.

WHAT SHOULD THE LOCAL WAFFLE CAUCUS BE LIKE? What follows should not be construed as a mechanical formula but merely as a way of illustrating the concept of caucus formation for the immediate future.

- the local Waffle Caucus should not be delineated by Constituency boundaries. Boundaries can be geographical, institutional or industrial depending on the composition of the group.
- the group should be ACTION/STUDY oriented and might be defined by a specific extra-parliamentary project or function.
- the group or caucus should not be restricted to NDP members (recognizing that we should not attempt to substitute the NDP for the movement which is yet to be built). Local group membership conditions should be left open

to any person who (1) agrees to abide by the collective decisions of the group and (2) who admits the need for building a socialist movement from the bottom up by socialist action and education WITH the people.

- The immediate process of theoretical and organizational consolidation with an emphasis on the local level is proposed for the following reasons:
- (1) For concentrating the energies of all Wafflers plus any libertarian socialists outside the NDP for effective local Education and Action.
  - (2) For engaging in local extra-parliamentary organizing.
  - (3) For discouraging sectarianism and organizational chauvinism.
  - (4) For avoiding exclusive reliance on single or narrow issue campaigns (which tend to lead to bureaucratization and which leave most people untouched).
  - (5) For avoiding getting sidetracked into reaction politics versus NDP/Labour bureaucrats.
  - (6) For initiating a process of bottom up collective decision-making.

To be clear, this is not a denunciation of central campaigns, merely to stress that they should not be the end-all, that their increasing impact can in fact only be nurtured by newly radicalized people from communities all over Canada. Also not mentioning LABOUR does not mean that caucus formations in unions should be forgotten. Quite the contrary. But, implied in the above is a cautionary note not to regard the working class as 'workers' or (worse yet) as unionists but also as, for example, parents, women, immigrants, students. Implied also is a challenge to relate experiences away from the place of work to the function of worker, for example, by seeing cities as dormitories from which one travels back and forth to work.

#### Till the Next Waffle Conference

Here we are, still a mixed bag, with varying degrees of commitment to parliamentarianism, social democrats, New Democrats. Few Wafflers came to the 1972 conference as representatives of a larger group of Wafflers, even less as spokesmen for a movement.

We also hold much hope and potential. The Waffle has attracted, from all cities across Ontario, newly radicalized young people including unionists. The Waffle has given many groups a voice - auto-workers, women, Dunlop workers and groups of unemployed people. That gives a good base from where to start organizing a massive movement. That must be our main task. Whether that is done with or without the NDP should be merely a question of tactics within the strategic question of building the struggle for self-determination at all levels of life.

Hopefully, conferences will be used for considerable discussion on organizational work in trade unions, schools and universities, immigrant organizations and women so that every Waffler will go home with some idea about how to build socialism. That would mean that at the NEXT CONFERENCE WE WILL HAVE MORE REAL PARTICIPANTS IN THE FORMULATION OF A PROGRAM AND A STRATEGY FOR A SOCIALIST MOVEMENT WHICH HAS EVERGROWING ROOTS IN COMMUNITIES RIGHT ACROSS THE LAND.

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A sample of basic readings for socialist caucuses: (working class history applied to Quebec:) THE HISTORY OF QUEBEC - A HANDBOOK FOR PATRIOTS, by Leandro Bergeron. THE FOUNDING OF CANADA and UNEQUAL UNION, by Stanley Ryerson. UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, by Frederick Engels. WHAT IS TO BE DONE, by V.I. Lenin. Periodical: TRANSFORMATION (issues 1, 2 and 3). STRATEGY FOR LABOUR, by Andre Gorz. THE NECESSITY OF SOCIAL CONTROL, by I. Meszaros (Merlin Press, 1971)

At the August 19-20 conference, the Waffle will make the most critical decision in its short history. The importance of that decision makes it necessary for the conference to involve as many Wafflers as possible in an open discussion of the various options available. Unfortunately that is not happening.

The totally unprecedented procedure of holding a delegate conference rather than an open one is forcing many people to commit themselves prematurely before they have heard the arguments for all the options. Those who are undecided about the best option and would like to hear further debate have little chance of becoming delegates unless they commit themselves. With the development of sharply defined sets of options, the Waffle has reached a polarization crisis in which people must take sides without having had a chance to participate in the outlines or directions of the options. The options have, in fact, been laid out by leadership groups while rank-and-file Wafflers must fit their ideologies in and around those options.

The need for further deliberation (and hopefully, a breaking down of the now heavily-organized party-politicking) is particularly apparent because of the poor communication between various Waffle groupings throughout Ontario. Communication seems to occur through the leadership only. Under these circumstances an open discussion of the available options, that is free from partisan concern, is very difficult. Besides, the prior decision by the Waffle leadership to unite behind Option 3 (forming a political action grouping outside the NDP) is unnecessarily coercing the debate by bringing in the extraneous consideration of loyalty to the leadership. Statements are being made and public positions taken as if Option 3 has already been adopted. Wafflers who have taken other positions are being red-baited or pressured to abandon their own preferences in the name of unity, loyalty and friendship.

There is growing feeling among many Wafflers that the decision about the Waffle's future is being made for them, not by them. Unless this feeling is laid to rest it could signal the Waffle's demise as an effective political formation. Although the original proposal to hold a delegate conference did not necessarily prevent a democratic decision from being reached, at this point in time it seems quite clear that the election of delegates is forcing the debate prematurely to the advantage of those who have greatest access to the channels of communication (and hence the most decision-making power) within the Waffle. As it stands the London conference begins to look more like a quadrupled meeting of the Ontario steering committee, with the outcome already determined according to what delegate "slates" came out on top.

How have we managed, in such a short time, to develop a system of operating that so closely parallels the practices and strategies of the NDP leadership? Openness has been the Waffle's traditional procedure for making decisions. Openness has been the Waffle's strength; and abandoning openness on the eve of our most critical decision calls the Waffle's credibility into question. Again we have to wonder why the steering committee has made the unprecedented decision of holding a delegate conference?

There are three major arguments that have been levied against an open conference and it is important to examine these arguments carefully.

First, it has been suggested that an open conference is unfeasible because a large group creates technical problems. We do not consider this a valid objection because we see no compelling reason why there should have to be a delegation of responsibility in a conference that will involve 400 or 500 people at the very most.

Secondly, it has been suggested that an open conference could be controlled by the League for Socialist Action (LSA), and that this group does not have the best interests of the Waffle at heart. If people believe this is so then it would seem logical to make a prior decision about whether members of the LSA - and for that matter the many other minority factions within the Waffle such as Leninists, New Leftists, Social Democrats and nonaligned socialists - should be allowed to

participate. We should keep in mind that when people from these minority factions are also members of the NDP they meet the criteria for Waffle involvement. If the Waffle leadership wishes to consolidate (as have the NDP leadership) and redefine the organization from an open caucus in the party to one which centres strictly around their own views (and restrict memberships accordingly) then it should attempt to do so. However, until such a decision is taken, members of various minority factions still have the same rights as other Wafflers to participate in decisions. It is our feeling that the leadership of the Waffle has tended to use the threat of the LSA as a bogeyman to close the debate and win support for their position--obscuring the real issues and underlining the pressing need for an open conference.

Thirdly, it has been suggested that having an open conference would discriminate against Wafflers from Northern Ontario, whereas a delegate conference would give those who have a distance to travel a more equal voice. There is some validity to this argument. If the conference were to be held in Toronto instead of London it would be easier to overcome the regional inequalities by charging an extra fee for the participants from Toronto and using this money to subsidize Wafflers from Northern Ontario. A \$10 additional levy of Wafflers from Toronto could raise money to assist delegates from distant locales. And Toronto Wafflers could easily accommodate all those from out of town without charge, as opposed to the situation where the smaller London Waffle group can neither subsidize nor accommodate to the same extent. The majority of Toronto participants in London would have to cover travel and living expenses.

We believe the conference should be shifted to Toronto to overcome the problem of regional inequity, but even if this is not done, we believe that the need for an open conference has priority over perfectly balanced regional representation. While we find many reasons why the August 19-20 conference should be open to all Wafflers in Ontario, we find no compelling reasons why it should not be open. Consequently we are asking you to support the following three resolutions:

Whereas the Waffle steering committee has not met since June 24 in Orillia;  
and

Whereas decision-making in the Waffle has passed to the communications committee, which is supposed to be an administrative body; and

Whereas there have been requests from other parties for a steering committee meeting:

BE IT RESOLVED that the Ontario steering committee be instructed to open the August 19-20 conference to all Wafflers who wish to vote and speak, instead of having a delegate format as is planned at present.

BE IT RESOLVED that the Waffle steering committee be convened before the August 19-20 conference to consider this resolution.

BE IT RESOLVED that if the Ontario steering committee does not support the resolution for an open conference, then this meeting instruct and bind its delegates to the August 19-20 conference to present and vote for said resolution for an open conference at the beginning of the conference.

Signed: Sue Abela.  
Lynne Browne  
Norm Feltes  
Susan Kent

Ron Mayne  
Tracy Morey  
Sandra Principe  
Jack Quarter

The attached statement for an open conference was supported by 42% of Wafflers attending the three Metro Toronto meetings, in spite of its last minute preparation. These meetings have strengthened our conviction that a democratic delegate conference is impossible because the Waffle leadership has taken a closed and prior decision to unite behind option 3 (the MISC proposal), and is using the power that is part of leadership (especially in a centrally-controlled organization like the Waffle) to pressure rank and file Wafflers to support MISC.

The Waffle News' decision to exclude the open conference statement from the last issue is one of many examples that illustrate the Waffle leadership's control over the debate.

In effect, the leadership has censored criticism of the way in which it is making this decision. There was no extensive province-wide circulation of the open conference statement, because we were led to believe that the Waffle News would carry it well in advance of the conference. Had the editor informed us in advance that he did not intend to print our statement (as we requested in a covering letter to him), then we would have circulated it ourselves. But his belated decision to exclude the open conference statement made this impossible, and effectively prevented any debate on the issue outside of Toronto. In addition, now we find out that the Communications Committee is recommending that debate of the open conference statement at this meeting be limited to two speakers for and against. We wonder whether the publication of the open conference statement would have undermined the Waffle leadership's strategy of polarizing the debate into a consideration of two options: one represented by the good guys and the other represented by the bad guys, usually referred to as the "crazies", "Trots", "New Left freaks", "anarchists" and other assorted labels. Is that all we have learned from the NDP leadership at Orillia? Would the many Wafflers who supported the other options, or those who have reservations about all the options - all of whom have been effectively disenfranchised - have begun to sense that there is a far more fundamental issue than the options themselves - and that is the way the decision is being made.

Until we come to grips with the Waffle's undemocratic, vanguard politics, and create an organizational structure with a broad distribution of powers, there will be repeated polarizations into factions. When the rank and file continually have living room decisions thrust upon them, they eventually become fed up. They lose interest, refuse to work and move toward other political groupings that give proper representation to their ideas. This has happened previously in the Waffle; it is happening now; and it will happen again until a democratic decision-making structure is worked out. Is it necessary to repeat the mistakes of the political left, over and over without ever learning from them???

Unless the decision about the Waffle's future is taken in a democratic and open manner there is absolutely no chance that those who support the option with the least delegates will unite behind the option with the most delegates. And let there be no illusion that the delegates at this conference are proportionate to the preferences expressed at local Waffle groupings. At the West Metro Toronto meeting for example, 14 of the 18 delegates to this conference were elected on the MISC slate, and one as an independent who supported MISC with reservations, whereas only 56% of the participants in the meeting endorsed the MISC resolution. Apart from many active Wafflers, this largest-ever West Metro meeting included NDP members who never have been Wafflers and who have no intention of joining MISC. They were organized to come to the meeting, because like the Waffle leadership, they want the Waffle outside of the NDP. Among West Metro Wafflers who were not elected as delegates- and are therefore deprived of the right to vote and speak at this conference- are two members of the Ontario Steering Committee, and every member of the local steering committee except one. The West Metro Steering Committee's balloting recommendations that were designed to have a fairer representation of viewpoints, were overturned on Mel Watkins argument that they were unacceptable to the Communications' Committee. If space would permit we could cite other examples of how bourgeois democratic procedures have been used to elect delegations that do not properly represent viewpoints expressed in their local groups.

If decision-making in the Waffle was democratic, and there was a broad distribution of power, we are not convinced that a split would have to come about. We are not prepared to accept the argument that political differences are irreconcilable until there is a democratic debate. Opening this meeting to all Wafflers is the best way to do this. There are all sorts of technical objections that can be raised to openness, but none of these objections disguise the fact that this conference consists of an undemocratic delegation that will make an undemocratic decision. If this convention goes ahead as is planned, there will be no victorious side: only two sets of pall bearers fighting for the right to carry the Waffle's coffin.

from p. 1

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The following resolution will be submitted to this conference:

Be it resolved, That this conference be opened to all Wafflers in attendance, and they be given voting rights.

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The following delegates to this conference are among the supporters of this resolution:

East Metro

Lynne Browne

Ron Mayne

Peterborough

Gordon Fee

Heather-Jon Maroney

St. Catherines

Roger Harper

Craig McKay

Sudbury

Pierre Fortin

Anne Morrisson

West Metro

Sandara Principe

Jack Quarter

Our essential task is to build a mass socialist movement in Canada. At the present, no such movement exists. Of the various political forces that significant numbers of workers, farmers and intellectuals support, the most progressive, <sup>active within</sup> in spite of its obvious shortcomings, is the NDP. At this point in time, working ~~to transform~~ the NDP ~~into a genuinely socialist movement~~ is a necessary step toward building an independent socialist Canada.

It is for these reasons that the Waffle emerged within the NDP and has continued to work therein. The achievements of the Waffle in the past two and a half years, such that it is now by far the most effective socialist grouping in English Canada, show the correctness of this strategy. It is clear that the Waffle must ~~remain~~ as an active force within the NDP.

To be seriously committed to the Waffle is to accept for the present its role within the NDP and to act accordingly. Those who wish to participate fully in the activities of the Waffle cannot do so effectively unless they belong to the NDP, while the Waffle - given its strategy - is entitled to insist on the minimal commitment of NDP membership from its supporters. We therefore recommend THAT ONLY MEMBERS OF THE NDP BE PERMITTED TO VOTE AT WAFFLE MEETINGS OR TO HOLD POSITIONS ON WAFFLE COMMITTEES.

The serious immediate issue is what role the Waffle should play within the NDP. Specifically, should it, like the NDP itself, engage chiefly in electoral politics, albeit with a socialist content? Or should it work primarily to build and organize a mass movement with limited emphasis on electoral activity?

In an important sense, this is a false issue, particularly given the present state of politics in Canada. The need is to combine parliamentary and extra-parliamentary activities, to see that they are more complementary than competing activities.

Parliamentary activity, if done properly, does not preclude, and indeed should stimulate, extra-parliamentary activity. Riding associations, presently so innocuous, can be turned into vehicles for sustained and diverse political action. Effective mass organizing can be done around socialist members of parliament who refuse simply to play parliamentary games.

Similarly, the organizing of extra-parliamentary activities can stimulate the building of a genuinely socialist party; indeed it is the only guarantee that the party will remain fully committed to socialist principles and able to give them effect after it takes power. Furthermore, building a mass movement under the auspices of a parliamentary party does not preclude a radically different political structure evolving out of that movement at some future time.

It must also be borne in mind that most working class people in Canada, while they often view politicians with anger and cynicism, continue to believe in the legitimacy of the electoral and parliamentary system and are well short of being ready to abandon it. Nor is it good socialist analysis to assert as dogma that socialism can only be built by by-passing the present liberal-democratic political system.

These general considerations take on concreteness and special urgency at this moment as Canada faces unprecedented external and internal crises. At present there are no voices in parliament that speak out forcefully and without equivocation on the two most important issues that face this country, American imperialism and Quebec's right to self-determination. These issues will not be presented to the people of English Canada in a principled way in the forthcoming federal election unless Wafflers run.

(over)

At the same time, it cannot be denied that the Waffle has tended so far to be unduly preoccupied with moving from convention to convention and from election to election. Important extra-parliamentary activity has already been engaged in by the Waffle, such as the resources campaign and the Texpack strike, but there has been insufficient effort devoted to conscious political organizing, particularly around community issues. This will not be corrected merely by limiting electoral activity, however, but only by very serious planning and unequivocal commitment to extra-parliamentary activities.

In order that the Waffle should in the future effectively combine both strategies to the maximum on both fronts, we recommend firstly: THAT THE WAFFLE SERIOUSLY PARTICIPATE IN THE UPCOMING FEDERAL ELECTION; SPECIFICALLY NO WAFFLER SHOULD BE DISCOURAGED FROM SEEKING A NOMINATION; THAT, IN THE FURTHERANCE OF SOCIALIST EQUALITY, SPECIAL EFFORTS BE MADE TO ENCOURAGE WOMEN, WORKERS AND NEW CANADIANS TO SEEK NOMINATIONS.

THAT NOMINATIONS BE SOUGHT IN RIDINGS WHERE IT IS INTENDED AND FEASIBLE TO UNDERTAKE ONGOING POLITICAL ACTIVITY AFTER THE ELECTION; THAT THOSE WHO GAIN NOMINATIONS FORM A COMMITTEE TO DECIDE AMONG THEMSELVES WHAT RESOURCES EACH WILL REQUIRE FROM THE WAFFLE. THE WAFFLE WILL IN TURN MEET THESE REQUESTS AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE WHILE AVOIDING ANY UPSET IN EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY ONGOING AT THE TIME.

Secondly, THAT EACH OF THE THREE WAFFLE GROUPS IN TORONTO BE ASKED TO CONVENE IMMEDIATELY A MEETING OR MEETINGS FOR THE PURPOSE OF DEFINING A PROGRAM OF EXTRA PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITIES THAT CAN BEGIN TO BE PUT INTO EFFECT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

Ed Bazyllinski  
Kelly Crichton  
Gord Laxer  
Dominique Pagnini  
Jack Quarter  
Dan Sunstrum  
Sandra Principe  
Bill Temple  
Mel Watkins

*TGI makes a note to local  
that a potential alternative be developed*

*that we be men to rely on support in  
these constituency rely on support from riding  
concerns*

A SOCIALIST STRATEGY FOR THE WAFFLE

Our purpose as socialists is to transform completely the present social order to put power into the hands of the working people of Canada.

In the Waffle group we have always understood that power in Canada is held by the American imperialists and their Canadian junior partners. It has been our central strength that we have recognized that the struggle of the Canadian working class for socialism is an anti-imperialist struggle. Since the recent launching of a major American economic offensive on Canada, this analysis of our situation has become evident to many who doubted it in the past. In recent weeks in Quebec the anti-imperialist struggle has reached a new level and there, as well, the working class seizure of the leadership of the national struggle has profound consequence.

In struggling for independence and socialism, the Waffle group has <sup>been</sup> working within the NDP. We have done this because within English Canada the NDP has brought together the most politically conscious elements of the working class. The rank and file members of the party and the affiliated rank and file unionists are a large element of the core around which the socialist movement must be built. The reality of the NDP must be faced.

To attempt to ignore the NDP and the necessity of advancing the struggle for independence and socialism within it would be to choose the role of a sect. We have, I think, understood the dangers of working within a socialdemocratic party. We always run the risk of providing left cover for a leadership that does not advance

an anti-imperialist and socialist programme. As individuals we face the constant pressure to submit to the gradualism of social democracy.

But the Waffle group has advanced, not retreated, in its socialism during the two and a half years of its existence. At the same time as this we have maintained a dialogue with thousands of members of the NDP. Our efforts have meant qualitative and quantitative growth for the Canadian socialist movement. For the first time in several decades there is a national coalition of left socialists in English Canada. Now, the struggle within the party leadership is sharpening, as we saw last weekend from the Hamilton-Mountain Resolution which would move toward the expulsion of the Waffle from the NDP. This right-wing reaction among some elements of the leadership of the party has emerged in response to our success in raising socialist policies throughout the party and now in the trade union movement. It is important to understand how critical the creation of the Waffle labour caucus is to the new level of struggle we are involved in. The labour leadership no longer sees us as a force that will quickly die away; instead they see us beginning to carry anti-imperialist, socialist politics and the demand for a Canadian trade union movement into their back yards. The Waffle group must not abandon the struggle within the NDP and the affiliated unions.

It should be clear from what I have said that it is my view of the Waffle that it is not a collection of all the elements of the left who lie between social democracy and the small Canadian vanguard parties. Rather it is a socialist caucus in the NDP with a specific strategic conception of the socialist struggle in Canada.

We certainly claim no monopoly of virtue on the left. Our strategy is problematic enough so that it is understandable that some others would reject it. However, the Waffle must itself seek greater definition and clarity in the pursuit of its own strategy. Everywhere else in Canada, with the exception of Toronto, Waffle groups require participants to be members of the NDP, because they see our work in the NDP as an important element in the Waffle strategy.

In the Waffle we have engaged in many political forms. Most have been non-electoral. There seems to be some confusion on the meaning of this term so I wish to be explicit in my definition. To me electoral activity has to do with those activities related to gaining parliamentary office. Too often, the implication is made that any activity other than what can loosely be called "direct action" is electoral. Since when has mass educational work been seen as electoral activity by Marxists? Our success in changing the thinking of Canadians on the resource question; our efforts to educate English Canadians on Quebec; our promulgation of women's liberation -- all this has been important mass educational work.

Our most important failing has been in the area of advancing beyond mass educational work to the building of a solid core of socialist activists in plants, offices, schools and rural communities. But with the formation of the labour caucus we have begun the building of left caucuses in the unions. This makes it likely that future involvements in issues like Dunlop or Texpack will be integrated more completely into our over-all strategy.

For some time many of us have recognized that in order to further the growth of the socialist movement, we must work directly with the people of Canada as well as within the NDP. We have begun directing our literature to the working people at large. This does not mean abandonment of our struggle within the NDP. It deepens and expands it.

Electoral activity would be seen in the same way.

The people of Canada are searching as never before for ways to rid this country of American imperialism. To fail to provide a clear programme for independence and socialism to the people at this time would be a tragic mistake. The opportunities for education and for winning new people to the movement in the coming federal election will be vast.

This does not mean that we believe that the people of Canada can achieve socialism simply by voting for a political party, whatever its programme. The Waffle has always understood that only the building of a mass socialist base can provide the basis for a socialist government.

Electoral work must be seen by us as an organizational and educational tool. The provincial election showed that it is possible to activate significant numbers of people through involvement in the election. We learned from this experience that activity in one area tends to generate it in others. But in the provincial election, we also made serious errors. Wafflers chose to run as individuals with no through-out strategy and with no common plan across the province.

Electing Wafflers to parliament is important, but they must be accountable to the socialist movement. We all recognize the dangers surrounding individualist parliamentary activity. The election of accountable people committed to socialist policies and strategies, however, gives us spokesmen and organizers who with collective direction can make an important contribution.

# A SOCIALIST STRATEGY FOR THE WAFFLE

A word about community organizing. There has been much talk, but little clarity on this subject. I am inclined to believe that work place organizing remains the most fruitful area for us. However, I look forward to proposals for area-based community organizing that overcome the pitfalls of a directionlessness and lack of class clarity that has characterized many community organizing efforts in the past.

We have chosen a difficult strategy in the Waffle. But it has resulted in fruitful struggle to date. The imperialist thrust into Canada and the deepening economic crisis which threatens the working class make our future course a matter of great seriousness for the country.

Krista Maeots

485 Parkside Drive,  
Toronto 3, Ontario.

9 August 1972.

Dear West Metro Waffler,

I would like to take this opportunity to clarify my position as the federal candidate for Toronto Parkdale.

In our letter of July 19 the four Wafflers who were candidates indicated their personal preferences to resign as candidates. They indicated their intent to have the decision made collectively by the Waffle if circumstances in their ridings made that possible. In fact, that has not proven possible in one case and George Gilks has submitted his resignation and had it accepted by his riding association, because of a demand within the riding that George should state unequivocally that he would remain as the candidate. There is an occasional person in federal Parkdale taking the same position but it is not a sufficiently general sentiment to create a problem for me. I therefore intend to take no action myself until the London Conference unless circumstances change in some unforeseeable way.

I recognize that a number of West Metro Wafflers whose views I respect feel that I should be a federal candidate. My own view personally remains that of the letter of July 19, but I will certainly accept the decision of the London Conference -- a decision which will be made separately from the decision on the options facing the Waffle. I will remain as the federal candidate in Parkdale if that is the will of the majority of the delegates at London and if my riding association -- which also has rights -- is still prepared after London to have me as the federal candidate.

For Independence and Socialism,

*Mel Watkins*

Mel Watkins

How do we organize an effective anti-imperialist movement in Canada?

To answer this question we must first assess where the sentiment in Canada is at (or if it exists) and how we can best relate to it.

In my opinion the sentiment definitely exists. Students dislike textbooks and courses that are oriented totally to the United States; most people are sick and tired of Madison Ave. oriented T.V. that they get drummed into them every day; Canadians feel that the American cities are cruel, alienating, and violent and they do not want the same to happen in Canada; to many in Canada the U.S. is a war oriented country--the continuing slaughter in Vietnam by the U.S. makes them doubly indignant; and, of course, Canadians more and more resent the growing domination of this country by the United States.

The sentiment is not anti-American people. English Canadians do not feel any hatred toward Americans. Our way of life is much the same as their's. The sentiment is directed toward the whole system that exploited both Canadians and Americans. The demonstrations against Amchitka, the nuclear blast which symbolized the U.S. war machine, were the largest in the history of Canada.

They showed the tremendous mobilizing potential of this sentiment.

The logic of this sentiment leads people against the Canadian government led by Trudeau. Although the Canadian ruling class has its own independent tradition and power, it has consciously tied itself to the U.S. ruling class as a junior partner, a mutually profitable relationship. The anti-imperialist sentiment leads to a consciousness that Canada has to be restored and saved by breaking it away from the racist, violent, strife torn system to the south.

In my opinion this sentiment has been fueled primarily by opposition to the war in Vietnam which, over the years, has been focussed in the antiwar movement. Lets look around us. For many of us the antiwar movement was our first political experience. Today revulsion against the war is still of increasing concern for thousands.

Not only that. The antiwar movement in Canada challenges Trudeau to break from the war machine. It orients concretely to the existing level of consciousness of Canadians: revulsion against the war and against U.S. domination of Canada. The antiwar movement has and will remain the strongest expression of the growing anti-imperialist sentiment simply because it most concretely to appeals to ~~the sentiment~~ the sentiment--people can see exactly what we mean and demand and because it has already become the most successful political force to mobilize this sentiment into mass action.

The problems of inflation, unemployment, layoffs, and plant closures resulting largely from the American war-sickened economy can be exposed through the antiwar movement. It leads people to a socialist consciousness simply because it strikes at the heart of capitalism -- it wars, inflation, unemployment and imperialist domination of Canada.

We in the Waffle should speak for this movement within the NDP and ~~attempt~~ attempt to organize NDP rank and file activists and supporters to build the antiwar movement. The NDP should take up the demand "break Canada from the U.S. war machine" in the coming federal elections. The coming International Peace Action Day against the ~~aggression~~ aggression in Vietnam, ~~April 22~~ April 22, gives us a good opportunity to focus our

activity and draw as many people into the movement as we can.

Wafflers have said the antiwar movement narrows the anti-imperialist struggle because it is single issue. I think this misunderstands the strategy of reaching the people of Canada who are ~~increasing~~ incensed by the war machine, and developing this sentiment toward a socialist consciousness. ~~This process~~ ~~requires~~ The key to this process is mass mobilizations which confront Nixon and Trudeau with a real power. Many of the people brought into the struggle in this way will come to socialist conclusions like we have in the past, join the Waffle, and help fight for a socialist program in the NDP. Furthermore mass actions give us a real opportunity to popularize our views through leaflets, speakers, and newspapers to an audience that is more receptive than any other.

This movement, its program and mass action potential, answer our often expressed need for extraparlimentary action. Already the NDP, the political arm of the working class movement in this country, has been deeply effected by the movement. The federal party now demands the withdrawal of all US forces from Vietnam. It is up to us in the Waffle to take the NDP into this radicalization and to radicalize the NDP along the way.

We can be very optimistic, especially following the massive upsurge against the Amchitka blast, that thousands--workers, students, women, unemployed--will be radicalized in the next period through the antiwar movement, and many more if we war in there building it.

(ends)

STATEMENT ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WAFFLE GROUP AND THE NDP.

205:55

The Waffle stands for an Independent Socialist Canada. It is an integral part of the New Democratic Party. Its purpose is to make the N.D.P. a Socialist party and through it to bring the Canadian working class and the majority of the Canadian people to Socialism.

The Waffle needs the N.D.P. no less than the N.D.P. needs the Waffle. At this stage of monopoly capitalism, the struggle for Canadian independence and the struggle for socialism are inextricably linked. Both require the leadership of the Canadian Working Class. The N.D.P. is the only major political organisation in Canada with the support of large numbers of working class people.

Outside the N.D.P., the Waffle would be quickly reduced to the status of a small sect. The history of the Canadian left is littered with such sects.

Inside the N.D.P., the Waffle has a very real opportunity to bring the N.D.P. to Socialism. The notion that the Waffle could win a majority of Canadians to Socialism more easily and quickly outside rather than in and through the N.D.P. is sheer fantasy. The struggle for Socialism in the N.D.P., in itself, will make of the Waffle a strong and united group, with a genuine working class power base.

By working within and for the N.D.P., we greatly improve our chance of reaching the goal of independence and socialism before we are swallowed up by the United States.

Lukin Robinson

Richard Comber

## THE WAFFLE, THE NDP AND THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALISTS IN THE WAFFLE

### a position paper

The point of this position paper and the motions contained in it, is to press for clarity in the Toronto Waffle's relation to the NDP. On the basis of the decision that will be made regarding this relationship, we present further motions to come to grips with what direction the Waffle should take, should it confirm its membership and steering committee open to non-NDPers, or what direction non-NDPers should take should the Waffle limit its membership to those in the NDP.

At the last meeting, when this special policy discussion was called to clarify the relationship of the Waffle to the NDP, the leadership of the Waffle (members of the steering committee) were visibly alarmed and audibly outraged. During the meeting, after the policy meeting was agreed upon, Bob Laxer actually moved to exclude those of us who are not members of the NDP from participating in that critically important discussion. It had to be pointed out to him, by a fellow NDPer at that, that there were non-NDP Wafflers as well, who have participated in the various Waffle activities from the beginning. As a result Bob Laxer had to withdraw his motion, "for the time being", as he put it. After the meeting members of the steering committee could be heard voicing their anger and frustration at "outsiders" who had come to the meeting to raise disturbing questions. They forgot that all present had been specifically invited to attend, and that the votes that had displeased them so (the vote to call the emergency policy meeting, and the vote in effect censuring the steering committee for approving of the expulsion of the New Brunswick Waffle from the NDP without bringing the discussion to the membership) were both majority votes. Thus, it turns out that the "outsiders" are in fact insiders, and that all present were equally legitimate.

Which brings us to the problem of the meaning of the Waffle. Historically, the Waffle movement started as a left-caucus of the NDP, attempting to present some challenge to what can be accurately called a right-wing social democratic party. But Waffle was more than that, since from the beginning it opened itself up for participation to non-NDPers as well, those identifying themselves

(more or less) as independent socialists. The only thing that the Waffle in Toronto has ever asked from its members is that they be eligible for membership in the NDP. This, of course, is at the very core of Waffle's present trouble, of having troublesome "outsiders" interfere with the business-as-usual running of meetings.

By the very fact that the Waffle opened itself for participation by non-NDPers, it ceased to be a strictly NDP group, accountable only to the NDP. (The only stipulation that remains affirming the relationship between the Waffle and the NDP and which under present circumstances is grossly undemocratic, is that non-NDPers cannot be on the Waffle steering committee.) As it is, there is a membership to be accountable to, something that appears to bring considerable discomfort to the present leadership of the Waffle.

This membership, it has to be pointed out, consists roughly of three groups of people: those committed to the NDP as a party, who despite their differences with it identify with the NDP and see it as a vehicle for social change. This group of people are anxious to "get down to business", which to them is to run Waffle candidates in the various elections. The way appears to be clear to them, since they believe in both the NDP and in electoral participation. The present leadership most definitely belongs to this group.

The second group consists of uncommitted NDPers, who are no longer so sure of everything. They have serious doubts about the NDP as a vehicle for social change, and they are not at all convinced that electoral activity at this time is of any use. In fact, many feel demoralized and exhausted after participating in the leadership campaign as well as the recent provincial election. It is important to recall that the two candidates who reported at the meeting on November 27th on their election campaign experience, both made the point that they had serious doubts about the value of such activity at the present time. Many active campaign workers could have said the same. At the core of the feeling of demoralization and alienation is the growing conviction that electoral activity is the most superficial kind of relating to working class people and does not allow creative involvement either by working class people themselves or by the members of the Waffle. There appears to be a widespread longing for a different kind, far more substantial political work with the working class constituency.

The third group of people, like the first, have made up their minds about the NDP - but in an opposite direction. Many of us have been members at one point and have left the party after grasping the essence of social democracy here and elsewhere in the world: the fact that it is not a solution at all

to class oppression, but an attempt - always unsuccessful - to divert the crisis inherent in capitalism. Social democracies themselves, whether in Sweden, Britain, Manitoba or Saskatchewan, testify to the failure of social democracy to affect deep-going structural changes. In all these places, sooner or later, the social democratic governments are forced to discipline the "unreasonable" workers; thus you can see wage freeze and compulsory arbitration come into effect through social democratic rule. These are the facts about social democracy that cannot be explained away. Furthermore, we are convinced that it is incorrect to say that the NDP is a "working class party". A thorough empirical investigation of the class base of the NDP, i.e. who belongs to it, who participates most, and who votes for it, will no doubt reveal that class base to be not working class at all, but petty bourgeois (and this includes the labour bureaucracy so influential in the party). The Canadian working class, by and large, remains outside the party and votes for it no more than for any other political party. A significant number of working class people, it can also be demonstrated, do not vote at all (revealing not necessarily their political backwardness, but the fact that the NDP is not considered a real enough alternative to the other parties.)

These are some of the reasons why we in the third group are no longer social-democrats; we are independent socialists who have been attracted to the Waffle for its promise of building <sup>a movement</sup> for independence and socialism. We have participated to different degrees in Waffle activities, by writing position papers, by attending meetings, by supporting strike activities, and so on, but our participation has by necessity been restricted, since the only sustained activity offered by the Waffle always turns out to be (as it is once again) electoral activity. We have waited for some signs that the NDP group in the Waffle become serious about starting to build an anti-imperialist movement, or, at least would start to discuss it seriously.

It has taken this long for that discussion to get started. It has taken this long for the non-NDPers in the Waffle to come to the realization that they are not considered equal members of the Waffle, and that they are regarded as "useful" only as far as they can enhance the individual political careers of the NDP members of the Waffle (for instance, by participating in demonstrations and thus adding to the appearance of the Waffle's numerical strength and adding some feathers to its cap on the account of "activism". It should be remembered that whatever the Waffle does, the credit goes to the NDP elements in it, since neither the media nor the general public appears to be aware that there are non-NDPers in the Toronto Waffle. And it has taken this long for some of the non-committed NDP-Wafflers to realize that all they are permitted to do in the Waffle is to work, work and work - to improve the electoral chances of the party they are already highly critical

of. No qualitatively different work has been available, since "there is no time" for the extra-parliamentary activity that the Waffle has advertised and which has been its main drawing card.

Since the time has come to raise questions, we want to raise the question that is and ought to be uppermost in the minds of the critically thinking Wafflers:

CAN THE WAFFLE CONTINUE TO EXIST IN ITS PRESENT FORM, WITH THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS IN IT?

We don't think it can. To start with, the different elements have never been equal, since the non-NDPers have by definition been excluded from the steering committee. To become equal, we would have to elect a steering committee consisting of individuals who could be either NDP or non-NDP. By doing that, the Waffle would cease to be the NDP caucus that some Wafflers appear to conceive it to be, despite the stubborn presence of non-NDPers (sometimes called "outsiders").

It seems to us that here the choice belongs to the NDP members of the Waffle. You can either become a member of a new movement containing socialists who are not NDPers, a movement which is independent of the NDP, and in which your membership in the NDP might turn out to be a bone of contention in the future - unless the NDP first expells you upon joining this new movement. Or you can declare yourselves (not the total Waffle) to be a left-caucus of the NDP, requiring a membership in the party for a prerequisite. In either case the Waffle as we presently know it will cease to exist. For - and sorry to use the familiar cliché - you can't have your cake and eat it, too. You can't be a caucus and a movement, and this attempt to achieve the impossible has been the source of the difficulties and frustrations in the Waffle, experienced by NDPers and independent socialists alike. (The committed NDPers in the Waffle think that there is too much talk and too little action, whereas the independent socialists think that nothing is ever adequately discussed and there is such a frenzy for action - but for such limited action as elections.) As long as the Waffle is a part of the NDP, it cannot be a movement, and should not try to pretend it is. If it wants to be a movement, it cannot be a part of the NDP. There is no "third alternative", no matter how hard you look. The present steering committee of the Waffle cannot continue to call meetings, send invitations right and left, far and wide, and then castigate those who come to ask questions about the meaning of the Waffle (and the meaning of those invitations), for being "outsiders" and "troublemakers". The leadership has to face up to the contradiction they themselves have created by making the Waffle a pseudo-movement, and opt out for clear-cut solutions. The total membership also has to decide

whether it wants to continue as a pseudo-movement, shadowtailing the decisions made by the "inner clique" of the steering committee, or whether it wants a real movement for independence and socialism. For all involved it would be sheer madness (or should one say, muddleheadedness) to continue the present confusion.

To make a real choice possible today, and in order to waste no more time, we move:

1) that the NDPers in the Waffle (and only they) be asked to take a vote affirming that the Waffle is a caucus of the NDP, requiring a membership in the party for a membership in the caucus.

In case this for some extraordinary reason turns out to be a negative vote, we move:

2) that the Waffle which now continues as an organization consisting of both NDPers and non-NDPers, set up a new steering committee with both elements in it.

3) that those eligible for the steering committee not be members of any existing political party or movement, except the NDP-Waffle, thus explicitly excluding those who belong to the Conservative and Liberal Parties, Social Credit, Action Canada, as well as members of the Communist Party of Canada, League of Socialist Action, Canadian Party of Labour, Canadian Liberation Movement, Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and/or any of its multitude of front grouplets, and any other group that we might not explicitly mention, but which has a programme and a platform and/or definite membership requirements.

4) that the steering committee be given the explicit task of organizing a meeting in February-March, to discuss the formation of a movement (NOT TO FORM IT) that stands for socialism and independence and is oriented towards the working class in Canada.

5) that the steering committee call for the presentation of papers at this meeting on the following topics (and others, if so wished):

a) Why a new movement? A critique of the others. What would be the basis for a new movement on the left? What are the points of agreement among the independent socialists?

b) The centrality of women's liberation in any movement calling itself socialist, this requiring a forceful redefinition of what presently passes as "socialism".

6) That invitations to the February-March meeting be extended to all known independent minded socialists and activists in trade-unions and other types of organizations, excluding members of all political parties, groups and movements mentioned above.

If the motion #1 is passed, we call for the non-NDPers present to meet in a different part of the hall, to proceed on a consensus basis with the above motions, with the following two changes:

#3 should now read: that those eligible for the steering committee not be members of any existing political party or movement, thus explicitly excluding those who belong to the Conservative, Liberal, New Democratic, Social Credit and Action Canada parties...

#6 should now read: that invitations to the February-March meeting be extended to all independent minded socialists and activists in tradeunions and other types of organizations, excluding members of all other political parties, groups and movements mentioned above, except those presently in the NDP Waffle, who are explicitly invited to attend as observers.

Mary Ann Code  
Robin Endres  
Larry Hoffman  
Rose-Marie Larsson  
Marjaleena Repo  
Satu Repo  
Gary Teeple

*(Found in Aug. 1973)*

TO: CC Members  
Branch Organizers  
NDP Co-ordinators

REPORT ON THE WAFFLE

Discussions with comrades at the recent Easter plenum confirmed, that across the country the Waffle is in crisis.

In every area, the Waffle is generally disorganized and isolated from the Waffle in other provinces. There is no cross-country co-ordination; the federal steering committee has not met for well over a year. Where the Waffle continues to function, if only modestly, it is increasingly dominated by small cliques of hardened anti-Trotskyists.

Everywhere we are excluded from Waffle executives and campaign committees. The elements who constitute the Waffle leadership and determine its policies are hostile to the mass campaigns we project both outside and within the NDP. In many areas, they have explicitly rejected proposals to work in or support the anti-war coalitions and the organized movement for abortion law repeal.

Attempts by the Waffle to carry its own campaigns, as around the auto pact and the energy resources questions, have predictably failed to get off the ground.

In British Columbia, the Waffle is divided among three tendencies. Insofar as the Waffle projects itself in the NDP, it is identified with the present right wing leadership of the party led by Barrett. Some Wafflers are anti-labor and easily disoriented under the negative influence of elements sympathetic to the Communist Party.

At a recent conference of the Saskatchewan Waffle attended by over 100 persons, we were the only ones present to oppose the main line of a strategy report by John Conway advocating that the Waffle prepare to break from the NDP and initiate the formation of an independent "socialist" party. The conference decided not to contest nominations for NDP election candidates or to run for convention delegates. The Waffle's intervention in the federal election campaign, it was decided, would be to hold independent meetings to "expose" all parties.

In Ontario, the Waffle has failed to mount an effective defence campaign against the right wing party leadership's attack on it. While individual NDP members sympathetic to the Waffle are attempting to carry the defence, the Waffle leadership has retreated. There is evidence of a deal between some Waffle leaders and the party leadership, by which, in return for an agreement not to "embarrass" the NDP right wing's electoral strategy by intervening around left issues and demands, several Waffle leaders have been given nominations as official NDP candidates.

Some Waffle leaders have responded, too, by statements restricting the scope of the Waffle's political challenge to the party. Mel Watkins was recently quoted in a news dispatch from New Brunswick as criticising that province's Waffle program for going "beyond the pale of social democracy." Whatever criticism could be made of the New Brunswick Waffle program -- and our critique of it was clearly expressed in Labor Challenge -- Watkins' remarks, coming many months after the crisis in the New Brunswick NDP, can only have much wider connotations.

probably MID 1972

## Waffle Report...2

While the direction varies -- in Saskatchewan, out of the party; in Ontario, trends towards liquidation into the party -- the diagnosis is similar everywhere: the Waffle is capitulating to the pressures of the right wing leadership of the NDP. It seems unable to develop an orientation to the NDP as a consistent left caucus.

At the same time, all the evidence points to a continuing deepening and broadening of the radicalization, and its corresponding reflection within the NDP. The potential for building a mass left wing in the NDP is greater than ever.

We will be examining these problems of the Waffle more extensively in forthcoming issues of Labor Challenge and in discussions within our own movement. However, in the opinion of the Political Committee, some moves are in order now:

1) We must continue efforts to defend the Waffle against the right's attack in Ontario. Comrades across the country should put forward motions in riding associations, affiliated trade unions, which specifically reject the attack on the Waffle, and defend the right of minority views to be heard and to organize within the party along the lines outlined in recent issues of Labor Challenge. Where possible, we should urge the Waffle to take the lead in this defence.

2) We must make an intensive effort to talk to individuals we have contacted around the Waffle who are disillusioned with the Waffle's degeneration. We want to recruit these people to the League. Now is a good time to hold educational classes on our orientation to the NDP and how we see the tasks of building a revolutionary party in this country.

3) We need more detailed information on the actual situation in the Waffle and the NDP in your area. Please send in reports to the Central Office. What are the different tendencies operating in the local Waffle? How do we function in the Waffle? How is the Waffle planning to intervene in the federal election campaign? These are some of the questions to consider.

4) Where the Waffle is unviable, comrades should be prepared to move out more independently as left wing NDPers in the riding associations etc. Where conventions are coming up this year (eg in B.C. and in Ontario) we should draw up resolutions on the major issues independently, if necessary, of the Waffle -- although possibly modelled on Waffle resolutions from previous conventions -- for presentation through ridings and trade unions to the convention. We should be alert to the possibilities for organizing left caucuses at these conventions if the Waffle defaults in its responsibilities.

5) Branches should be prepared to allocate sufficient forces to NDP work to enable us to meet the possibilities now opening up for an expanded independent intervention in this milieu.

The PC will shortly name a cross-country co-ordinator of NDP work to maintain correspondence with local NDP co-ordinators.

Comradely,  
Dick Fidler  
for the Political Committee

MEETING OF  
THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE  
OF

THE MOVEMENT FOR AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CANADA

The meeting was called to order at approximately 2:40 p.m.

A tentative agenda was placed before the meeting by the Chairman, Lukin Robinson and was approved.

AGENDA: Discussion of Guidelines for Membership  
Election of Protem Committee  
Discussion of Relationship of Movement to National Waffle  
Discussion of Possible Campaigns  
Discussion of the Founding Convention (Time & Place)  
Report from the Women's Caucus

GUIDELINES FOR MEMBERSHIP

Ellie Prepas (North Metro) suggested that a clear decision with regard to membership should be made by the delegates. Kelly Crichton (West Metro) raised the issue of exclusion of members of certain other left groups and also challenged the seating of Margaret Smith of Kitchener on the grounds of her alleged membership in the CPL. Margaret Smith replied that she was not a member of the CLP although she was interested in it. After some debate, the challenge was withdrawn.

At this point it was decided that observers should be allowed into the meeting.

Continuing the debate on guidelines for membership, Jim Laxer (East Metro) spoke at length and drew from his paper titled The Movement's Relations with Other Left Groups which had been circulated among the delegates.

Ellie Prepas then moved the following Statement on Membership:

We made a decision yesterday to set up a movement for independence and socialism in Canada. We must now adopt some workable guidelines for membership. We must be willing to work with other political tendencies on the left in a principled and open manner and to dialogue with them where such common activities will build socialism. On the other hand we must recognize our differences with other groups and we must not permit their members to join MISC just as members of our movement will not join their groups. Such groups include the CLM, CP, CPL and LSA, whose members we would therefore suggest excluding from the movement.

Betsy Slye (West Metro) then moved that the reference to the CLM be stricken from the motion and said that we should ally ourselves fairly closely with the CLM rather than excluding them from membership.

The Chairman brought to the attention of the meeting the last paragraph of Jim Laxer's paper, which he felt might help in considering the membership question:

"The Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada shall invite residents of Ontario who share its aims and purposes to join it. Its membership

shall not be open to members of other left groups who operate closed or unacknowledged caucuses in our midst while not affording us any say in their decision-making."

Milton Little (West Metro) moved the following amendment:

RESOLVED THAT: the last sentence of the motion be replaced by the last paragraph of Jim Laxer's paper and that the matter of membership then be referred to a Credentials Committee who would use the motion as the basis for decisions in that regard.

Ellie Prepas accepted this amendment and redrafted the motion to include it. After considerable debate on the floor, the motion was put to the vote and adopted, with the last sentence replaced by the following:

The Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada shall invite residents of Ontario who share its aims and purposes to join it. Its membership shall not be open to members of other left groups who operate closed or unacknowledged caucuses in its midst.

A brief discussion of the membership fee in the new movement went on and a motion was passed approving a \$5.00 fee.

#### THE PROTEM COMMITTEE

George Warshett (Kingston) moved and Dave Gregory (Kingston) seconded the following motion:

RESOLVED THAT: This Conference create a Protem (Planning) Committee to organize the founding convention of the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada. The Committee shall be elected on the following regional basis:

(i) for the purpose of representation the province shall be considered as seven regions, as follows:

North West	- Sault Ste. Marie, Thunder Bay
North East	- Sudbury, North Bay, Timmons
Eastern	- Ottawa, Kingston, Cornwall, Brockville
Centre	- Peterborough, Barrie, Orillia, Oshawa
Toronto	
South East	- Kitchener, Waterloo, Brantford, Hamilton, St. Catharines
South West	- London, Windsor, Sarnia

(ii) each region elects four representatives to the committee in a manner determined by the regions themselves.

In speaking to the motion, George Warshett emphasized his desire for regional representation on the Protem Committee.

An amendment calling for compliance with the parity rule among delegates elected was accepted by the mover for inclusion in the motion.

A further amendment was proposed:

RESOLVED THAT: the Committee consist of two representatives from each of the areas represented at this meeting.

After further debate the second amendment was approved by the meeting. The main motion constituting the Protem Committee also carried.

Jim Laxer (East Metro) expressed the opinion that the Committee need not be elected immediately during the London weekend. Hilary Armstrong (North Metro) suggested that an Ad Hoc Secretariat of four should be set up to take the names of representatives on the Protem Committee and to set up a meeting of that Committee. It was agreed that the Ad Hoc Secretariat should consist of the following four members:

Hilary Armstrong, 335 Vaughan Road, Toronto 10 (787-1523)  
Maggi Boyce, 205 Vaughan Road, Apt. 36-S, Toronto 10 (782-9194)  
Richard Comber, 1110A Yonge Street, Apt. A, Toronto (920-2817)  
Dan Heap, 29 Wales Avenue, Toronto 2B (363-7804)

#### THE RELATION OF THE MOVEMENT TO THE NATIONAL WAFFLE

After some discussion of this question, during which representatives from Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Alberta spoke, Mel Watkins (West Metro) introduced the following motion:

RESOLVED THAT: the new Waffle Movement in Ontario declare its solidarity with other provincial Waffle groups across Canada, and that the Protem Organizing Committee give high priority to clarifying the relationship of the new movement to the National Waffle, and that it assist in the calling of a meeting of the National Steering Committee before the founding convention.

This motion was passed by the Conference.

#### MINUTES

Kelly Crichton (West Metro) suggested that minutes of the Conference and of this meeting be prepared and sent to all Ontario Wafflers. The recording secretary undertook to do this with the assistance of the Chairman.

#### CAMPAIGNS

Paul Craven (East Metro) proposed the following motion:

RESOLVED THAT: (1) Local organizing committees be instructed to hold meetings in their local communities with a view to identifying local issues and discussing appropriate strategies and actions to deal with these issues.

(2) A plenary session - probably a weekend meeting -- be held before the end of September, where local organizing committees can report on the discussions in (1) above, and where an exchange of information and support can be arranged.

(3) Workshop sessions be held at the Founding Convention to concretize arrangements for local-issue-oriented campaigns and to share ideas about strategies for organizing such campaigns.

(4) The Ad Hoc Secretariat inform all members of the Organizing Committee of this resolution, and the Secretariat be charged with arranging the session in (2) above.

After brief discussion, this motion was passed.

The following motion was then introduced:

RESOLVED THAT: the cost of transportation to Protem Committee meetings for the Thunder Bay delegates be paid by the Waffle.

This motion was adopted.

#### THE FOUNDING CONVENTION

The Protem Committee was to decide on the time and place for the Founding Convention, based on the recommendations of the meeting. Both Ottawa and Sudbury were recommended for consideration and arguments given in favour of each. The delegates indicated that they favoured Sudbury when the recommendations were voted on.

Discussion proceeded on the question of the time of the Founding Convention. Motions were introduced calling for the Convention to be held

a) Thanksgiving weekend    b) in late November    c) in mid-November

A further motion was introduced as follows:

RESOLVED THAT: the Founding Convention be held not less than three months after the London Conference, at the discretion of the Protem Committee.

This motion was passed.

#### THE WOMEN'S CAUCUS REPORT

Linda Hay (West Metro) gave a report from the women's caucus which had met during the lunch hour. The caucus passed two resolutions which were put forward for the delegates' consideration:

1. RESOLVED THAT: in future there must be complete compliance with the parity rule among delegates to Waffle conventions

and meetings and that under no circumstances will men be seated in place of women if parity is not achieved.

2. RESOLVED THAT: a meeting of the women's caucus be called for a 1-hour period during the Founding Convention, and that no other meeting be called for that ~~1-hour~~ period.

Both of these resolutions were approved.

A motion for adjournment was put forward and passed.

H. L. Robinson  
Lukin Robinson - Chairman

Maggi Boyce  
Recording Secretary  
Maggi Boyce

FOUND IN 1972  
(Sept)

# To Ontario New Democrats:

"Our party is in crisis. So is our country. We believe we must work for an independent socialist Canada. We ask that the option be kept alive within the New Democratic Party, for its day will surely come."

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A statement by the Ontario Waffle to the Ontario Executive of the New Democratic Party.

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## The present crisis of the NDP

The Ontario New Democratic Party is presently in a grave crisis, the most serious of its ten-year history. Tensions have always existed within our Party; indeed, they are inevitable in any democratic party that must relate to changing circumstances. Nor can it be denied that tensions have been more evident of late for a number of reasons. The Waffle has existed as an organized left caucus within the NDP, calling for a socialist Ontario in an independent socialist Canada and pursuing a range of political activities, since October 1969. Official union leadership supported by bloc voting has been increasingly in evidence at all levels within the Party since the Provincial Convention of October 1970. Statements of an anti-socialist nature, particularly explicit opposition to public ownership, have been made more and more frequently by powerful persons within the Party, while some union leaders and their employees have openly called for purging of left-wingers. At the same time, the weak performance of the Ontario Party in the last provincial election has understandably created doubts among many rank and file members as to the relevance of the Party's present policies and tactics.

At the March Provincial Council Meeting, these tensions were escalated in a massive, if not irresponsible, way by Stephen Lewis, the leader of the ONDP, with the apparent support of official union leadership. This escalation took place in spite of a pending federal election in which substantial gains in Ontario are critical to a breakthrough by the federal Party.

The escalation came in response to a resolution submitted to Council by the Hamilton Mountain Riding Association. The resolution directs that the Constitu-

tion of the ONDP be interpreted as follows: "Exclusion from membership for belonging to or supporting another political party include those who adhere to any clearly identifiable ongoing political groups, who organize, solicit funds, employ staff, hold press conferences to expound their own point of view instead of operating within and supporting democratically arrived at decisions of the Party through conventions and Council action." The intent of the motion clearly is to force the Waffle to disband or Wafflers will be liable for expulsion. It proposes to resolve the debate between the Waffle and the rest of the Party by administrative action.

The motion won the immediate endorsement of Ian Deans, MPP for Wentworth and newly appointed NDP House Leader. One of the main people responsible for the Hamilton Mountain resolution is Bob Mackenzie, a Steelworker organizer on loan to the NDP as a Party organizer. He is on the Provincial Executive but was defeated by Jim Laxer when he ran for Federal Council at the last Provincial Convention. He has a record of anti-Waffle activity in the Party. At the last NDP Provincial Council meeting before the provincial election, in May 1971, he spoke and voted against allowing Steve Penner, then Ontario Waffle chairman, to run as the NDP candidate in Toronto Dovercourt. In the provincial election, the NDP vote moved up decisively in Dovercourt and Penner lost by only 38 votes; in Hamilton, however, where Mackenzie was the Party organizer, the NDP actually got 1300 fewer votes than in 1967, even though total votes cast were up 20,000. On the evidence, Mackenzie has a record of misdirecting his energies.

In response to the Hamilton Mountain resolution, ten ridings sent in resolutions opposed to it. For example: "Be it resolved that the executive of the Peterborough County Riding Association urge the New Democratic Party of Ontario not to substitute administrative action for debate as a means to resolve ideological differences within the Party. Be it further resolved that any such action be regarded as a violation of the fundamental democratic rights of self-expression of members of the New Democratic Party." In spite of the evidence of these sentiments in the ridings, Stephen Lewis chose to devote the customary leadership report to the Council to a one-hour attack on the Waffle. His tone was not that of a measured weighing of the pros and cons, nor was it a consideration of the Waffle in the broader con-

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text of Party structure and Party democracy. Rather, it was that of the leader as prosecutor of a particular grouping within the Party.

The charge was followed by a resolution moved by Gord Bridgen, the Secretary of the ONDP, directing the Provincial Executive, of which he is a member, "to prepare a statement outlining the responsibilities and obligations of members of the Party" for the June Council Meeting. An attempt from the floor to amend the resolution so that a Committee would be created to investigate Party structures and Party democracy in general and to report to the fall Convention was ruled out of order by the chairman, Gordon Vichert, President of the ONDP. Comments from the floor—including those by Wafflers who were attacked by name in Lewis' speech and who were there as delegates—were limited to three minutes each. The motion passed 157-62.

The size of the majority reflected the unusual composition of that particular Council and indicates the extraordinary amount of advance organizing that had been done by someone. The customary 10 to 15 delegates from the unions had swelled to 90 or 95, and paid staff representatives were very much in evidence. When allowance is made for the bias of that bloc, it is probable that the vote of riding delegates was only marginally in support of the motion. The editor of the *New Democrat* guesses that the ridings supported the motion 2 to 1, though his credibility is reduced by the failure of his totals even to sum properly. But perhaps the important point is simply that if the ridings had voted 2 to 1 **against** the resolution, it would still have passed.

Prior to his "bombshell" at the Council Meeting, Lewis had indicated no interest in seeing if a **modus vivendi** could be found of ground rules acceptable to all concerned. A meeting called for by the NDP Provincial Caucus with Waffle representatives, to which the latter assented, was to take place prior to the March Council Meeting but it was cancelled at the last moment on the grounds, which were false, that the Waffle had leaked news of the meeting to the press. Lewis' behaviour at the Council Meeting—of referring a matter to the Executive after he has clearly come down on one side—suggests that the function of the Executive is to lay down rules that will compel the Waffle to disband or face expulsion; this is certainly the interpretation the press has tended to place on the Lewis initiative. It would appear that some of the union leaders, and their employees, will be satisfied by nothing less than a purge. Dennis McDermott, Canadian Director of the UAW, called for the expulsion of the Waffle in January in response to the very successful Waffle-initiated Windsor conference on the Auto Pact. Donald Taylor, Assistant Research Director of the United Steelworkers of America, in a letter to the *Globe and Mail* on 23 March 1972, writes: "I and many others feel that the Waffle, if it will not voluntarily relinquish its parasitic attachment to the NDP, should be asked by the majority of the Party, to do so"; the options appear to be to get out or be purged.

At its Executive meeting on April 8, on a motion by Jim Laxer, a commission struck by that Executive was directed to hold hearings around Ontario with Party members. This is a welcome development that hopefully will permit all individuals and groups within the Party to present formally their point of view. This brief has been prepared for presentation to the hearing in Toronto on April 27. Its intention is to contribute to the wide-ranging dialogue that is so urgently needed within the Ontario Party.

Lewis' speech has been rushed into print as a special issue of the *New Democrat*. We urge that briefs submitted to the Commission, particularly those which present alternative points of view, also be made available to all members of the Ontario Party.

## The Canadian crisis

It is necessary that these matters be put in a broad perspective and be related to underlying economic and social realities. For the current crisis in the ONDP exists fundamentally because profound changes in Canadian society have given rise to important new debates within Canadian politics in general and within the Canadian left in particular. Pressures to transform the New Democratic Party into a party clearly committed

to the building of an independent socialist Canada are a response to the increasing contradictions that manifest themselves in a dependent capitalist Canada.

A key reality for Canadians is their hinterland status within the American Empire. A spate of official studies—the Watkins Report, the Wahn Report, the Gray Report, the work of the Science Council and of the Special Senate Committee on Science—have increasingly documented the costs to Canadians of foreign ownership and branch plant status. For the working people of this country, these reports are superfluous. For them, the effects of high and rising American economic domination are daily experienced at the most basic level of unemployment, rising prices and high taxes.

American direct investment has long since ceased to be a means by which capital is imported into Canada and new jobs created. As much as 95 percent of increases in American ownership in Canada now comes from the savings of Canadians, and from profits earned by American corporations in Canada—profits that result from higher prices to consumers and lower wages to workers than in the United States. The return flow of dividends, management fees, etc., from the subsidiary to its parent greatly exceeds the new capital inflow. Direct investment has become a means of draining surplus out of Canada and leaving Canadians worse off.

At the same time, it is now clear that widespread foreign ownership has created an industrial structure in Canada that creates costs rather than benefits for Canadians. In the resource sector, which is two-thirds foreign-owned, resources are exported in unprocessed forms with little regard for future Canadian needs, machinery is imported and few jobs are created. Profits accrue to foreign shareholders, little tax is paid in Canada and few benefits accrue to Canadians. Our rich storehouse of resources is being frittered away to suit the purposes of foreign capitalists rather than the needs of the Canadian people.

In the manufacturing sector, which is three-fifths foreign-owned, there is a proliferation of branch plants without regard to the limited size of the Canadian market, a failure to innovate in research and design, and an inability to export. The result is fewer jobs and less creative jobs for Canadians at a time when the Canadian labour force is growing at a rate faster than that of any other industrialized country and when an increasing number of Canadians are graduating from community colleges, institutes of technology and universities.

The link between foreign ownership and jobs in this country is **not** that foreign ownership creates jobs, but that it destroys jobs. The power to close down branch plants lies outside this country and is at the whim of a corporate elite that pursues profit without respect to human costs. According to an OFL study, between June 1970 and June 1971, 76 foreign-owned or controlled plants in Ontario closed down or had extensive layoffs and 10,297 workers lost their jobs.

The inherent tendency of a capitalist system dominated by so-called multi-national corporations to underdevelop, rather than develop, hinterland countries has been driven home with a vengeance by the Nixon Ad-



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drastic steps are taken. But there is as well—though closely related to the first—the second and internal crisis resulting from the rise of the **independentist** movement in Quebec.

It is no accident that a movement for national liberation—a phenomenon to be found in many parts of the world today—should manifest itself within Canada first in Quebec. For Quebecers experience a double exploitation of American control exercised through the intermediary of English-Canadian capitalists, of being “a colony within a colony.” Those who call for an independent Canada can hardly credibly deny a similar right to Quebec and, indeed, the strongest opponents of the democratic rights of Quebec are English-Canadian capitalists heavily committed to a satellite status for all of Canada within the American Empire.

As Quebec's Quiet Revolution has picked up speed, it has taken firm roots among working people, and what began as a demand for independence has moved forward to a demand for socialism. The **independentist** movement increasingly sees American corporations, rather than English-Canadian branch plant managers and politicians, as the real enemy. As it becomes an anti-imperialist movement, a new possibility exists to link it with the demands of English Canadians for an independent socialist Canada and to create a new bi-national alliance on the northern half of the North American continent. Radically new confederal arrangements would be needed, but they are the only hope of holding Canada together. English Canadians can most directly contribute to that possibility being realized by joining the struggle within English Canada for independence and socialism.

It is not surprising that a country faced with the twin shocks of American economic takeover and the rise of Quebec nationalism is rethinking its politics. In addition, our country has been affected by important new movements for democratic change among women, youth and national minorities that have altered the life of all industrial nations. The limitations of liberal democracy are being increasingly perceived; the demand is now for the extension of democracy downwards to the grassroots level of our society, for the ending of the exploitation of whole groups of people, and for collective action to end that exploitation as part of the broader struggle to create a truly democratic socialist society. The New Democratic Party must relate to these movements and their anti-capitalist sentiments by being the vital centre which pulls them together into a single socialist movement.

The basis exists in this country for a powerful anti-imperialist movement that can create a new Canada. Members of the ONDP have a vital stake in that movement. A time of crisis is necessarily a time of debate and of ideological struggle. A minimum requirement for the ONDP is that debate not be stifled. For what is at issue is both the relevance of our Party and the fate of our country.

## The Waffle: structures and ideology

The Waffle movement is a product of our times. Its existence and its structures admittedly contribute to tensions within the Party, though some tension is not only inevitable but essential if the ONDP is to change with the times. Furthermore, the present high level of tension is more clearly the result of Stephen Lewis' initiative than anything the Waffle has unexpectedly done different from its other activities over its two-and-a-half-year history.

While the Waffle does have a structure, the issues involved for the ONDP in its discussions of the fate of the Waffle should not simply focus on that. In response to the actual crisis in our society, the Waffle has articulated the case for an independent socialist Canada. Without a structure, the Waffle could not exist; it could not give expression to that case; it could not engage in

the political activities that are intended to be creative responses to the real problems that Canadians, and Ontarians, face. Ultimately, the Waffle must be judged on the basis of the positive contributions that it believes it has made to the building of an independent socialist Canada.

In the spring of 1969 a small group of people, mostly long-time members of the NDP and mostly expecting to be delegates to the federal Convention that October, gathered together to discuss the NDP and the problems facing Canada. From that initial meeting came a decision to write a resolution to go to that convention, offering primarily a socialist perspective on the issue of independence. At subsequent meetings, the numbers in attendance grew steadily. What began as a resolution became a Manifesto For An Independent Socialist Canada. Spontaneous support for the Manifesto from delegates assembling at the Convention left no alternative to those concerned with ordering the affairs of the Convention but to make the debate on that Manifesto the key event of the Convention. The Manifesto was defeated, but more than one-third of all delegates supported it and an alternative manifesto from the Party establishment, which was passed, was thought by many people to present a tougher policy on foreign ownership than would otherwise have been the case. The NDP, alone of the major parties of this country, now

had a credible position on the most important issue facing Canada, the issue of independence.

From the opening of the Convention, supporters of the Manifesto began to caucus together. New Democrats on the left of the Party suddenly discovered themselves in impressively large numbers and perceived the socialist potential at the grassroots of the NDP. At the last caucus, over 300 Manifesto supporters voted unanimously to hold together between conventions as a left grouping within the Party. The Waffle as a formal structure was created at that moment in response to the insistence of rank-and-file New Democrats from riding associations and union locals across Canada.

Out of that caucus came an elected national steering committee, a commitment from Wafflers to organize locally and provincially, a decision to produce a newsletter so that Wafflers could communicate with each other, and the raising of funds, largely to permit of the latter. From these decisions have grown the structures within Ontario which have now brought down the wrath of Stephen Lewis.

But Lewis' Provincial Council speech does serious injustice to the Waffle. No grouping can exist, can do things, can operate democratically, unless it has mailing lists, steering committees, meetings and money. To deny the right of a group to exist—and that has now apparently become the issue—is to deny the right of collective and effective expression of the particular views shared by the people who make up the group.

The NDP, like the CCF before it, has always spanned a broad spectrum of opinion on the Canadian left. Within such a spectrum, individuals will tend to coalesce and groupings of opinion will emerge. Caucuses are a traditional vehicle for operating within political parties of the left.

It is a basic tenet of democracy that people within an organization be allowed the right to organize to put forward their ideas. Caucuses of Party members—and the Waffle is such a caucus—will assert the right to communicate with one another and to put forward their views to the general membership of the Party. Clearly they must have that right simply in the name of democracy.

It is a pretense to argue that all groupings of opinion are welcome to exist provided that organizing is not done to give expression to such ideas. No political idea can exist in a relevant fashion without a form through which it can be expressed.

Lewis' speech notwithstanding, it is impossible to distinguish between structures and ideology and then proceed, as he does, to make the former the major issue. For it is clear that Lewis' basic objection to the Waffle is ideological and that for him the issue of structures is relevant because it is the means by which that ideological difference expresses itself and by which his hege-

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mony and leadership are threatened.

Lest anyone be confused on this point, Stephen Lewis in a speech in Brantford prior to the 1969 federal Convention—and therefore before the Waffle existed as a

formal structured grouping—spoke out in no uncertain terms against the Manifesto and its call for extensive public ownership. At the Ontario Convention in 1970, a resolution calling for public ownership of the energy resources industries was interpreted by Lewis to mean public ownership of the gas distribution system. (The implication for a democratic party of so clearly violating the will of the Convention will be dealt with later.) Again, at the last Provincial Council, Lewis' discussion of ideology is confined to attacking a speech by Jim Laxer calling for "the nationalization of our natural and energy resources followed by the nationalization of large multi-national corporations in other key sectors of our economy"—a position, according to Lewis, "so markedly at variance with Party policy."

Anyone familiar with debates on the left knows that the question of public ownership is critical. Views legitimately vary and there is considerable agreement that the actual experience with public ownership leaves much to be desired. But there is an important distinction between those who see the limitations of public ownership as requiring not its abandonment but its linking with workers' control—that, is that public ownership is a necessary though not sufficient condition for socialism—and those who argue that it is obsolete and that private property can be effectively regulated so as to achieve socialist ends. Indeed, it is usually thought that the latter, who call themselves functional socialists, are simply naive about the real world

For the NDP, as the party of working people, there is an opportunity for political work that has not existed for the left since the 1930's. The Great Depression created the CCF; the 1970's can transform the NDP into a genuinely socialist party.

power of corporations to evade and subvert regulation.

Certainly the Waffle has come down clearly on one side of that debate. But just as certainly, Stephen Lewis has come down on the other side. At the moment, the Waffle position is a minority one within the Party—though the vote at the Ontario Convention is worth noting again. The question now before the ONDP is whether the debate on critical ideological matters can continue, or whether it will be stifled by raising the false cry of structures and by crushing the Waffle and the ideology it enunciates by administrative means.

\* \* \*

Structures exist to do things and the Ontario Waffle has been active in the past two years. In April 1970, at the request of the union local, Wafflers initiated a campaign to save the jobs of 600 workers at the Dunlop plant in Toronto. The campaign was picked up and carried on by the ONDP. In September 1970 the Waffle sponsored nation-wide demonstrations against the sell-out of natural gas to the United States and against the

The positive alternative to the multi-national corporation is public ownership and control by Canadians. The positive alternative to the authoritarian and hierarchical structure of the corporation is workers, control and democratic decision-making in factories, mines and offices. The positive alternative to external domination and underdevelopment is community control and the release of the creative energies of people.

whole continental energy deal, and it has continued to carry these issues into the riding associations, local unions, colleges and high schools across the province. The ONDP Convention in 1970, in the resolution previously referred to, voted overwhelmingly to sponsor a broad public campaign against the energy deal. In a very real sense, it is the Waffle, by default of the Party leadership, that has tried to carry out the mandate of the Convention.

In October 1970, at a time when the NDP was under attack across the country, the Waffle organized several large public meetings in Toronto to support the courageous stand taken by the 16 NDP MP's against the War Measures Act. David Lewis, Ed Broadbent and others spoke at these rallies attended by several hundreds of people. In April 1971, Jim Laxer, Waffle candidate for the leadership of the federal Party, ran second; alone of the federal candidates, he was prepared to make the right of Quebec to self-determination a major issue.

During the same period Wafflers were lending support on the picket lines to strikers at Johnson Matthey & Mallory and AP Parts, and worked closely with the Graphic Arts unions to try to stop the American takeover of Ryerson Press. In June 1971 the Waffle initiated a Counter-Conference to Davis' Conference on Economic and Cultural Nationalism. At the request of the Provincial Caucus, official sponsorship of the Counter-Conference was taken over by the ONDP. In July 1971 the Ontario Waffle appeared before the National Energy Board in Ottawa to oppose six applications for natural gas exports to the United States on the grounds that they were part of a continental energy deal and not in the interests of the Canadian people; in November 1971 the NEB turned down these applications and announced that, in its opinion, there was no surplus of natural gas in Canada for export. In September 1971, at the request of the union, the Waffle organized NDP members to support and join the picket line in Brantford, along with members of Steelworkers Local 1005 in Hamilton, in the strike against Texpack, subsidiary of the giant American Hospital Supply Corporation. In spite of police support of professional strike-breakers and a raid on the union by the rival Textile Workers of America, a long and bitter strike was won.

In November 1971 supporters of the Waffle from various union locals joined together at the Ontario Federation of Labour Convention to form a caucus. Similar in many respects to the Reform Caucus of the

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May 1970 CLC Convention, the Waffle caucus attracted union delegates to talk about the issues coming up on the floor and to discuss politics and unionism generally. Prior to the convention, a statement of position on various labour issues was printed up by a group of unionists supporting the Waffle. In January 1972 the Waffle group sponsored a Conference in Windsor endorsed by the Windsor and District Labour Council on the Auto Pact sell-out. The meeting attracted 350 participants, many of them auto workers from nearby plants. Ed Broadbent, MP, and Ted Bounsell, newly elected NDP MPP for Windsor and labour critic in the Provincial Caucus, addressed the group. The Mayor of Windsor and the **Windsor Star** said the Conference was a welcome development, but Dennis McDermott reacted by charging the Waffle with interference in the internal affairs of the UAW and by calling for the expulsion of the Waffle from the NDP.

Wafflers also ran as provincial candidates, canvassed in ridings across Ontario and served on riding executives and on councils and executives of the provincial and federal Parties. The Waffle does not—as Lewis implies in his speech—denigrate parliamentary politics. It believes, rather, that it is necessary to link parliamentary and extra-parliamentary work. In recent weeks, some Ontario Wafflers have sought federal nominations and have, more often than not, been successful. Lewis refers to nominations being fought on a pro or anti-Waffle basis, but does not go on to assign responsibility for that particular polarization. Had he done so, it might then have been established that in the two most bitterly fought cases of Dovercourt provincially and York East federally, where Wafflers won in both cases, the supporters of the unsuccessful candidates for the nomination engaged in Waffle-baiting; in neither case was the polarization Waffle-inspired. The evidence shows that rank-and-file members of riding associations are willing to support Wafflers on their merits and do not relate to attempts to rally them on an anti-Waffle appeal.

Nor, apparently, do voters. Allegations sometimes heard to the effect that the Waffle damaged the Party's prospects in the last Ontario election do not stand up to examination. There is no doubt the Party did badly and all Party members were disappointed. But a large and organized Waffle caucus in Saskatchewan did not prevent the Saskatchewan Party from winning a landslide victory—and it is worth noting that Premier Blakeney has not associated himself with Lewis' anti-Waffle initiative. In Ontario, those some half-dozen NDP candidates who were known to be Wafflers and who tended to highlight the more radical portions of the Party platform, outperformed the average NDP

candidate at the polls in terms of votes gained in 1971 relative to 1967. If any inference is to be drawn it is that Ontario voters would have related better to the NDP if it had run on a more radical program—such as the resolutions on energy resources, women's rights and housing actually passed at the 1970 Ontario Convention.

On the statistical evidence, the Waffle helped rather than hurt the ONDP. Why? In general, voters, cynical of politics and distrustful of politicians, will see little point in relating to a third party that can only with difficulty be distinguished in their minds from the two old-line parties. Nor should they. In particular, in the midst of the present economic crisis, the tendency of the ONDP to articulate an analysis of problems that is considerably more radical than the solution offered—foreign ownership is a serious problem but public ownership is a last resort—further arouses the people's anxieties without offering any credible alternative. During the election campaign, Stephen Lewis spoke effectively on the causes and consequences of branch plant shutdowns, yet on the same day as Bob Nixon—albeit opportunistically—called for public ownership if necessary to save jobs, Lewis was outlining a code of good corporate behaviour.

The list of Waffle activities was offered above not for reasons of self-congratulation, but so that some specific charges can be answered and conclusions drawn.

There are two criticisms that have understandably upset some NDP members. The first is the use by the Waffle of the wording "the Waffle movement in the NDP" or "Waffle (NDP)." In fact, the Waffle is part of the NDP in the important sense that one cannot participate in Waffle activities unless one is a member of the NDP. (It follows, incidentally, that to speak of the NDP vs. the Waffle is necessarily to misinform and mislead, for the Waffle is not separate from the NDP but a part thereof.) The Waffle advertised itself as it did because it wished to be known as part of the NDP. No objections were raised for two years. Lewis has now drawn the attention of members to a clause in the Constitution forbidding any group not constitutionally set up within the Party from using the name of the Party without prior written approval. The Waffle has been violating that provision, albeit in good faith. In the future, the Waffle will not use the designation "NDP" without prior approval of the Party.

The second specific criticism is the fund-raising of the Waffle, to which Lewis devoted considerable time in his speech, concluding with the observation that "it is really a very great pity that so much of sustaining revenue is unavailable for Party resources." In fact, the ability of the Waffle to fund-raise is easily exaggerated, but the necessity of its doing so, if it is to do the things it does, is clear. For the record, the major expenditures of the Ontario Waffle in the past two years have been: the Laxer leadership campaign; the publication and distribution of the **Waffle News** (which has now not appeared for almost a year); a paid organizer to work from September 1971 to January 1972 on the resources campaign (the Ontario Waffle has had no paid organizer since January and has no plans to have one); printing the pamphlet for the OFL Convention; aiding the Texpack strikers; assisting Wafflers running as NDP candidates in the Ontario election, particularly Steve Penner in Dovercourt who ran 20th in Ontario but got no financial or organizational assistance from 11½ Spadina; organizing the Windsor conference against the Auto Pact sell-out. As befits a serious left political movement, most of its supporters, on the basis of their contributions, must be assumed to be financially destitute, and the Waffle has been in debt since its inception.

A time of crisis is necessarily a time of debate and of ideological struggle. A minimum requirement for the ONDP is that debate not be stifled. For what is at issue is both the relevance of our Party and the fate of our country.

The list permits of more basic inferences. There is nothing on it that could not have been done by a Party leadership and Executive that was willing to pursue the extra-parliamentary dimensions of socialist politics. In effect, the Waffle might be said to take initiatives in the absence of leadership from the Party. Where the Caucus or Executive saw fit to sponsor and take over initiatives begun by the Waffle, as in Dunlop and the Counter-Conference, the ONDP was doing belatedly what it could have done in the first place. In the case of the resources campaign, the Waffle has done what the leadership has failed to do in spite of a mandate from the Convention—a point made in a resolution sent to the last Provincial Council by St. Andrew-St. Patrick Riding.

To a very considerable extent the Waffle exists by default, by the failure of the Party leadership to appreciate the extent to which many people in the Party find little that is relevant to do between elections. Indeed, the Waffle might never have come into existence in the first place had not many members felt frustrated with the irrelevance of the Party's existing structures

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as a means to do serious political work on a day-in-day-out basis.

A second major inference that would have to be drawn from any fair reading of the list is the extent to which the Waffle has worked with union locals at the request of the latter. Nothing is more inaccurate than Lewis' attempt to portray the Waffle as anti-union and to pair it with Pierre Trudeau and John Munro. It is true that the Waffle has made some very pointed criticism of official union leadership and some of its activities within the NDP, and even within the labour movement. The language has not always been tactful—though it would be difficult to match the intemperate anti-Waffle outbursts of some union leaders at Council meetings, Conventions, and even to the media—but presumably the important point is that no grouping within the Party can elevate itself to a point where it is above criticism.

And let no one doubt that union leaders within our Party increasingly constitute an organized group, and that they have the means, financial and otherwise, to influence the Party in a way that makes the Waffle's resources pale into insignificance. The transformation of the CCF into the NDP via the affiliation of unions created a potential for reducing delegates from riding associations to Conventions and Councils to a minority, and that potential is now being given effect. Nor can there be many riding delegates to Conventions and Councils, many of whom won hotly-contested elections to get there and frequently bore much of the expense personally, who have not been conscious of floating union credentials and of delegates from union locals who are not members of those locals but rather are paid employees from union headquarters on expense accounts.

If there is a group within the Party at this moment which threatens its democratic functioning, it is more clearly a handful of union leaders than a grassroots Waffle movement. If the structures of the Waffle are to be examined, then simple fairness compels us to consider the activities of other groups and the whole question of Party structures and Party democracy. If the ideology of the Waffle is to be attacked, let us ask whether official union leadership does not display a distinctive ideological position. For example, the Ontario Federation of Labour's submission to the Select Committee on Economic and Cultural Nationalism of the Ontario Legislature supports nationalism provided it is "moderate," hails the contributions of multi-national corporations to economic growth, advocates continuing to seek foreign direct investment, explicitly rejects nationalizing the leading sectors of our economy, and avoids even mentioning the case for an independent Canadian labour movement, now or at any time in the future.

We derive no satisfaction from this line of reasoning. Unions today are under sustained attack from the right, at a time when working people desperately need whatever protection unions can give them. The attack by union leaders on the democratic left, now officially joined by Stephen Lewis, is surely a misdirection of energy. There is more involved here than the feelings and the careers of union leaders and their employees. What is at stake are the jobs and incomes of Ontario workers and the relevance of the ONDP to their fate.

At the risk of repetition, let no person claim that Wafflers are anti-union or outside agitators. The Waffle's record of work with union locals in Ontario in the past two years and the number of rank-and-file unionists who are Waffle supporters should be sufficient refutation of that.

Structures, then, are a legitimate but limited concern. To overemphasize them is to mystify us about ideology. The Waffle has an ideological position that it has supported at Conventions. It stands for a socialist Ontario in an independent socialist Canada; for extensive public ownership, for a radical restructuring of Confederation and the right of Quebec to self-determination, for the liberation of women, for a militant socialist independent Canadian labour movement, for workers' control. Its hope and its strategy are to win the NDP over to these positions. Its commitment is to revitalize and recreate the Party.

## A democratic party for working people

The ONDP is not the private preserve of any one group or any one family. It belongs to the working people of Ontario. How well does it serve them? It is committed to building democratic socialism. How democratic is it itself? It seeks power electorally. How well is it doing? Those who have now escalated tensions in the Party virtually to the breaking point should be prepared to speak on these questions—as this brief endeavours to do. Those thousands of ordinary members of the ONDP now caught in the middle of a polarization not of their making must nevertheless now ponder these matters, decide for themselves, and compel the Party to return to some sensible keel.

There has been, since 1961, no systematic re-examination by the ONDP of its own structures and the implications for democratic decision-making within the ONDP. Furthermore, as Stephen Lewis recognizes in his speech, there is "an unsatisfying flaw in the current philosophic statements of the Canadian left" and "it's time for a redefinition of democratic socialism in Canada and Ontario for the 1970's and beyond."

The question of Party structures has four distinctive dimensions: accountability of leadership and caucus, centralization vs. decentralization of decision-making, communications, and affiliation.

### (i) Accountability of leadership and caucus

Note has already been made of the manner in which the decisions of the 1970 Convention were evaded and watered down in the program presented to Ontario voters in 1971. This is not only serious in its own right but symptomatic of one of the most important problems that faces any political party, and particularly a party of the democratic left. In the nature of capitalist society, with corporations having extraordinary influence in politics, a socialist party cannot come to power unless it mobilizes mass support through mass involvement. Should it come to power, the corporations will then try to create panic and to subvert and moderate the party's program. A mass-based, militant party is then essential to provide the support, if not the pressure, that will be needed to implement the electoral mandate.

One can only deplore the manner in which Lewis deals with this critical matter in his speech when he attacks **Canadian Dimension** for its critique of "Cabinet Dictatorship" in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The term

Without a structure the Waffle could not exist, it could not engage in the political activities that are intended to be creative responses to the real problems that Canadians face. Ultimately, the Waffle must be judged on the basis of the positive contributions that it believes it has made to the building of an independent socialist Canada.

itself, as readers of that issue of **Dimension** will be aware, comes from the observations of the American liberal political scientist Clinton Rossiter on the actual experience of parliamentary parties. It is naive and disingenuous to pretend that the NDP when it is in office somehow automatically transcends the problem. The evidence offered in **Dimension** from the actual experience of the NDP governments of Manitoba and Saskatchewan raises grave doubts and hardly enables one to be sanguine.

Compared to the old-line parties, the CCF and the

NDP have, in fact, always recognized the difficulties of maintaining accountability of caucus and leadership. Constitutionally, the role of the party structure is to control the caucus of members in the legislature and the role of the Convention is to set policy. Rank-and-file members have taken pride in the democracy of their Party and have understood the necessity of constant struggle if it is to exist in practice.

If the leadership of the ONDP is unable to relate to this issue out of office, it would be most unlikely to do so in office. The temptation would then grow to relate to the electorate over the heads of the Party members, and the consequences for a firm and principled commitment to socialism are potentially disastrous. The Party risks being reduced to an electoral machine to gain support for a program not of its own making.

The Parties of Manitoba and Saskatchewan must themselves come to terms with this problem. In Ontario, the single advantage of being presently not the government is that we have the time to try to come to terms with this difficult but most important matter.

#### (ii) Centralization vs. decentralization of decision-making

There is a powerful tendency within political parties for a bureaucracy to emerge around the leadership, the caucus and the party secretary. Between conventions power gravitates to the executive or a central committee within it, such as the Administrative Committee of the ONDP. At conventions, where the number of delegates and resolutions is large, power will reside with a resolutions committee over which the party leadership can exercise considerable influence.

Organizational imperatives lead to centralization. The point must be recognized, and the tendency to centralization explicitly countervailed by the deliberate building of a decentralized structure. A centralized party bureaucracy holds power by dealing atomistically with each riding association and keeping in separate compartments the riding-wing and union-wing of the Party. The Council exists to keep the leadership and caucus accountable to the membership between Conventions, and it is therefore essential that Council be representative of the actual grassroots of the Party. Regional groupings of ridings and the joining of the two wings of the Party by rank-and-file unionist involvement in the ridings would strengthen the ridings, reduce the power of official union leadership, and offset the inherent tendency toward centralization in general, and the present oligarchic character of the ONDP in particular.

#### (iii) Communications

Monopolies of knowledge are the most insidious of all monopolies. The power of a centralized bureaucracy is maintained by being the centre through which all communications flow and by limiting the capability of members to communicate amongst themselves independently of it. A democratic party must maximize the scope and effectiveness of internal channels of communication. Party members who wish access to mailing lists for Party purposes should not encounter the difficulties that they sometimes presently do. The Party newspaper should be a vital organ, appearing frequently, accessible to rank-and-file participation, and giving voice to a diversity of views. That is a minimum recipe for the **New Democrat**. Ideally, the working people of this province need a newspaper that offers a socialist perspective on the news, gives freedom to radical journalists, and seriously reports on the world of labour. It is regrettable that the closing of the **Toronto Telegram** led only to the creation of the **Toronto Sun** rather than to the emergence of an English Canadian weekly analogous to **Quebec Presse**.

#### (iv) Affiliation

It was a historic decision in 1961 to create a New Party with union affiliation. It took place in the midst of the Cold War and after the demoralizing Diefenbaker landslide of 1958. It appealed to the model of the British Labour Party and was intended to restore the fortunes of the CCF. It was hotly debated by the membership at the time and is still an issue in many ridings and union

locals.

The pros and cons of that issue remain many and complex. The formal linking of a socialist party to the unions, as the organized section of the working class, creates the potential for a militant working-class party. For the Party, it promises support: money, Party workers and votes at election time. It gives the unions a political voice and an added clout that they are much in need of in a capitalist society, and compels an interest and involvement in more than the bread-and-butter issues. It permits in principle of a close interaction of riding associations—the central entities of a parliamentary party—and rank-and-file unionists, and from that

mutual interaction can grow a powerful Party.

But there were risks appreciated from the outset. Too close identification of the Party with unions—a feeling that the Party was simply the parliamentary wing of organized labour and that the latter was tending to lose its radicalism—risked turning off workers, both unionists and non-unionists, who might otherwise vote for the Party. The risk with respect to the democratic functioning of the Party was domination by unions, or more probably by their leadership, and a reduction in the power of the riding associations. A close alliance between Party leadership and union leadership could create a monopoly of power at the top of the Party with great capacity to dictate Party programs.

The crux of the matter would seem to be whether or not union affiliation leads to rank-and-file unionist involvement. If it fails to do so, then so far as elections are concerned, the votes will not materialize, and so far as the Party is concerned, its internal democracy will be eroded by the intrusion at its highest level of union leaders not directly accountable to the grassroots of the Party.

A decade of experience of the ONDP leaves little doubt as to what has happened. Union affiliation has had disappointing consequences in terms both of rank-and-file involvement in the Party and of votes at election time. Existing union affiliations have been effected between bureaucracies. To a large extent the top leadership of unions has linked with the top leadership of the NDP, leaving most members of unions uninvolved and now threatening to leave most members of the ONDP out in the cold. As Walter Young has put it, the result is "Siamese twins joined at the head."

The failure of affiliation in practice to do what was hoped, but rather to do what was feared, permits of two possible options for the Party now: retain affiliation but change its nature; and disaffiliate the unions, that is, return to the CCF structure.

The first option hinges on the view that the failure results not from affiliation *per se* but from the kind of tenuous affiliation that has been effected, and that this state of affairs could be changed. Straightforward reforms could be implemented by the Party with respect to the participation of unionists at Councils and Conventions. Both riding and union activists—who are not necessarily the same people as are found in positions of official leadership within the Party and within the unions—could be given every encouragement to work together and to do continuing political education in their own and each others' constituencies. Rather than curtailing, or even severing, the interrelationship of the unions and the Party, the NDP could be made a relevant fact in the life of the unions and rank-and-file unionists could swell the ranks of riding activists. The procedure for the affiliation of a local could be toughened so that it came to mean a serious commitment by the membership of the local to support the Party; in the long run, this could benefit the Party in all respects, including the financial.

The Constitution permits of affiliation of organizations other than union locals, and there are already some important cases of such affiliation—for example,

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ADI (Italian Democratic Association). The Party could take more initiative in seeking affiliation of a range of groups—tenants organizations, poor peoples' groups, women's liberation groups, etc.

The second option flows from the premise that the maintenance of Party democracy—in terms of decentralization of structures, the tolerance of dissent, and on-going processes of reformation of policy and orderly contestation for power—is more probable if power lies simply with the riding associations. It takes note of the fact that historically the CCF had labour ties and support without affiliation, and that presently active supporters of the NDP within union locals do work within the ridings.

The issue of affiliation has not been a major concern for debate within the ONDP since 1961, as it has been with some of the other provincial sections. It would be premature, therefore, to choose between these options. But it would be equally inappropriate for the ONDP to opt for the **status quo**. The present situation needs careful examination and the options deserve serious study and debate; if the investigation launched in March was to be broadened in this way, the basis could be created for reform of the Party that could transform it into a genuinely working-class party.

A democratic party is inherently more likely to be a relevant party and all New Democrats have a vested interest in the latter. The historical contributions of the CCF/NDP are impressive and the working people of this country are much in its debt. They need us now more than ever before. Those would risk destroying the Party as a vehicle for socialism in the 70's will have much to account for in any hereafter—and let the readers of this brief decide who bears the heaviest responsibility for taking this Party to the brink. It follows that the issue of Party structures and Party democracy is no small matter but rather merits the urgent attention of the ONDP.

## Responsibilities, obligations—and rights— of members

The so-called "compromise" resolution sent by Council to the Executive for reporting back to the next Council Meeting in June calls on the Executive to prepare a statement outlining "the responsibilities and obligations of members of the Party." It is appropriate as well to speak of the **rights** of members. And those rights must exist collectively for them really to exist individually, for if a caucus to which an individual belongs is not permitted to express the views that persons in that caucus share, then the individual's right to **effective** expression has been reduced.

This brief is not intended to be merely argumentative

and self-pleading. While it is both unworkable and undesirable to legislate differences of opinion out of existence, it should be possible through structural change in the Party to make internal debate considerably more creative and less abrasive than it now is. The structure of the ONDP must be designed for orderly change. The present structure is both cumbersome and oligarchic. Rank-and-file Party members lack the means to influence the Party effectively. The present structure of the Party and particularly the structural relation of the Party to the affiliated organizations tends to consolidate the arbitrary power of an elite within the Party.

So as to contribute to the debate on Party decision-making, we put forward the following specific proposals designed to assist in setting up a process of orderly internal change and to ensure that the Party is fully self-governing:

**1. Selection of delegates to ONDP Council and Conventions:** i) That delegates to ONDP Conventions must be elected by a general meeting of either the riding association or union local from which they come and that these delegates must be members of the local or riding which sends them. Only paid-up regular members of the ONDP may serve as delegates. ii) That staff reps of trade unions (this does not include elected full-time officers) may not be sent to Councils or Conventions as delegates from affiliated locals, but only as members of riding associations from the ridings in which they live.

**2. ONDP Staff:** That affiliated organizations may not hire permanent staff to work for the ONDP. That contributions from affiliated organizations be solicited for the purpose of paying organizers. That such organizers be hired and paid by the Party and be responsible to the ONDP Executive.

**3. Regional Conventions:** To overcome the problem of the powerlessness of riding associations in policy formation, the province shall be divided into ten regions of approximately 12 ridings each. Three months prior to a Provincial Convention, Regional Conventions shall be convened to which resolutions from ridings and affiliated organizations shall be submitted. Resolutions passed by such Regional Conventions will be forwarded to the ONDP Provincial Convention.

**4. Internal Communications:** i) The *New Democrat* shall be published weekly as soon as possible and shall serve as a forum for expression within the Party. ii) A mailing list with the names of presidents and secretaries of riding associations and the names of the chairmen of political action committees of affiliated locals shall be made available on request to any member of the ONDP Executive, Provincial Council, and the presidents and secretaries of ridings and PAC chairmen. The person making the request shall pay the cost of the printout.

**5. Caucus and leadership accountability:** The Provincial Council shall establish a committee to draft a report on the relationship between the parliamentary caucus of the Party and the governing bodies of the Party. The committee shall submit a report, recommending the establishment of procedure to assure the full accountability of the caucus to the governing bodies of the Party, to the Provincial Convention for its consideration.

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**6. Affiliated Organizations:** The Provincial Council shall establish a committee to draft a report on the relationship of affiliated organizations to the Party, including a reconsideration of the 1961 decision to permit of affiliation—to be submitted to the Provincial Convention for its consideration.

It is a minimum necessity that no action be taken by the Provincial Council or Executive to alter the status of the Waffle within the ONDP. A full Convention of the ONDP is planned for this autumn. A matter of such grave importance to **all** members of the Party should only be dealt with by the highest governing body of the Party. That is the least we owe ourselves.

The Waffle exists and it does not intend to stand idly by while others decide its fate. We will continue to do what needs to be done to build socialism in Ontario and in Canada. We will fight for our right to remain as an organized left caucus within the NDP. The Waffle was born within the NDP for good reason and it is to the benefit of all concerned that we should so remain.

We have written this brief so that our position will be known not only to this Committee and to the Provincial Executive but to the general membership of the ONDP. We are prepared to discuss this position with any riding association or affiliated local in Ontario.

We conclude as we began. Our Party is in a state of crisis. So is our country. The Waffle stands for an independent socialist Canada. Our hope and our strategy is to win the NDP over to that position. We see no reason why that option should not be kept alive **within the New Democratic Party**, for its day will surely come.

Because we were given no opportunity to reply to the charges leveled against us at the last meeting of the Ontario Council, or even allowed space in **The New Democrat** to rebut Stephen Lewis' speech we have decided to publish and distribute our brief among the membership of the Ontario NDP.

This is an expensive undertaking for the Waffle and we appeal to you to help defray the cost.

Please send your contribution to the **Ontario Waffle, Box 339, Station E., Toronto.**

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# Where is Canada going?

## WAFFLE ELECTION SPECIAL

NDP Canada's political parties are waging the current federal election campaign as though the past four years never occurred.

● The parties are failing to deal with the question of Canadian independence. Our jobs and the job prospects of our children are on the line. Whether our economy is to be a giant investment area for Americans or the source of well-being for Canadians is the issue. At stake is political and cultural as well as economic independence.

● Four years of ineptitude in managing our economy has led to enormous resentment against unemployment and rising consumer costs. The Liberals and Conservatives are hinting that they intend to bring in wage-price controls following October 30. It's time this issue received honest and full treatment from the parties.

● Four years of intense concern with the role of women in Cana-

dian society including the attention of a Royal Commission has led to a few grudging concessions but to no basic changes.

● The Trudeau government is running on what it calls national "integrity". This is a codeword for saying that Trudeau's federalism must remain exactly as is. Surely in a general election just two years after the government invoked the War Measures Act for the first time in peacetime, we should have a serious discussion about the relationship between English Canadians and Quebec.

The Ontario Waffle Movement for an Independent, Socialist Canada is campaigning to bring these crucial issues to the attention of Canadians. We are holding meetings and rallies around the province. We are working to build a movement that can deal directly with the problem of ordinary Canadians and that can take on the vital task of winning Canada for Canadians.

## Foreign ownership is costing Canadians their jobs, their future

While Canada's party leaders exchange slogans and insults, the vital question of the survival of Canada as an independent nation is being ignored.

The greatest failure of the Trudeau government has been its inaction while more and more of Canada slips out of the control of Canadians. Foreign ownership has been rocketing forward while our Prime Minister simply shrugs off the whole subject with his characteristic arrogance.

Canadians are becoming angered. More and more people aware that the myth that Canada needs foreign investment is disproven by the fact that almost all new foreign investment in Canada comes from money already earned here and merely reinvested. The American corporations are taking us over with our own money.

Between 1960 and 1967 1.8 billion dollars more flowed south than north across the Canada - U.S. border. The rate of profit flows to the U.S. has been steadily increasing since then.

American business interests have been developing Canada as a

source of natural resources for American industry. Our resources are processed into manufactured goods in the United States and then sold back to us at higher prices than are paid on the other side of the border. By doing this, Canada is exporting tens of thousands of jobs.

The government of Richard Nixon is trying to push Canada further in this direction. Legislation has been passed in Washington to encourage American companies to shift production from branch plants in countries like Canada back to the United States.

As the Canadian economy becomes increasingly dependent on the export of resources such as oil, gas, minerals and electrical energy, the need for skilled and highly educated people becomes smaller.

This is why in Ontario we are now seeing cutbacks in higher education. A country that does not design its own products and that imports an increasing amount of its manufactured goods cannot guarantee a decent future for its people. The problem is not simply present unemployment, but failure to provide our young people with creative jobs for the future.

# The parties are ignoring the

## Foreign ownership is...

The Liberals tell us we need their trade deals to live. Let's look at one of them. In the fall of 1970 the government agreed to the sale of 6.3 trillion cubic feet of natural gas over the next 20 years to the United States, worth about 2 billion dollars. Once the construction of the pipelines is complete almost no permanent jobs will remain as a result of the project. Because the natural gas is 82.6 per cent foreign owned, the profits as well as the gas flow out of the country. Natural gas companies pay taxes on only 5.7 per cent of their book profits. Because Canada has tied its price of natural gas to the American price, which is now doubling, we in Ontario will pay twice as much for natural gas in our homes and industries within a few years. Such deals simply have no benefits for the people of Canada.

It is clear that following the election, the Liberal Party intends to continue selling Canada to the United States. We can expect such projects as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, the James Bay Hydro development, and the granting of new licenses for the export of

natural gas to follow the election.

These projects will kill jobs in the manufacturing sector in Canada. They will attract huge amounts of American investment into Canadian resources. This will cause our dollar to be overvalued and will make it much more difficult for us to sell our finished goods abroad.

When you ask yourself why there are so many plant shut downs and layoffs in Canada, much of the explanation lies in the reduction of Canada to a resource base for the United States.

And Trudeau is planning a direct threat to the jobs of tens of thousands of people in Ontario when he agrees to cancel the employment safeguards for Canada in the Canada-U.S. auto pact.

Trudeau will open up our car market to more American imports. Jobs will be threatened in auto assembly, auto parts, and also in related industries like steel, rubber and glass.

Nixon's policy of bringing the manufacturing jobs back to the U.S.A. at the expense of countries like Canada is critical. And our political leaders are conducting this election as though they've never heard of it.

## Why the Government wants to freeze your income

Lurking just beneath the surface in this federal election campaign is an issue that could hurt a lot of working people in the very near future. It's called wage-price controls.

None of the parties are openly advocating them, but enough hints are being dropped that we could predict that both the Liberals and Conservatives are prepared to introduce such controls after the election is safely out of the way.

What's good for the big corporations is not likely to be so good for the ordinary working man or woman. Yet a lot of working people, particularly poorly-paid non-unionized workers, appear to want wage-price controls. It's understandable that they are fed up with constantly rising prices. But controls would be administered by the old-line parties which are bankrolled by the corporations. We can be certain that they will be used to lower the share of income going to working people. Workers will find themselves out of the frying pan into the fire. In the name of fighting inflation, the corporations will get the government to lower costs and increase profits by squeezing wages.

People are being hurt by the steady inflation that has been going on and promises to continue. In fact, the burden falls mostly on the most powerless groups in society, such as old-age pensioners. But to solve that

problem by wage-price controls is like hunting squirrels with a cannon. Those who live on low and fixed income could and should be protected against the burden of inflation by tying pensions, welfare benefits, and minimum wages in full to the cost-of-living escalator.

Certainly the corporations have demonstrated again and again that when they have to meet union wage demands, they simply raise prices rather than dip into their high profits, and by more than enough to cover costs. The real culprits, clearly, are the monopolistic corporations. The solution is not wage-price controls, but price controls alone. That way we will avoid the clear risk of depriving unions of the right to bargain collectively for wages, a right they have won through a century of struggle.

A straightforward way to stop the erosion of workers' incomes is to look at why major items in your budget like food and housing now cost so much more than they once did. Big corporations now dominate most aspects of the food business. The high cost of housing is clearly linked to the enormous profits of land speculators and developers.

In these and other areas it's time we had governments that planned for people rather than for the corporations, and we would find that the quality of service would rise and costs would fall.



Canada's vast export of resources leads to fewer jobs for the jobs in processing and manufacturing.

### Quebec and English Canada

The movements for independence and socialism two years after the imposition of the War Measures Act. Speakers from the Quebec Labour Movement and the Ontario and Saskatchewan Waffle Movement.

U. of Ottawa Medical Auditorium, Somerset and Nicholas 8 p.m. October 14.

For further information contact: Pat Smart (613) 232-3063 in Ottawa.

### "SHUTDOWN"

A rally on layoffs, unemployment and foreign ownership will take place on Sunday, October 22nd at 1:00. The location in Toronto is Monarch Park Secondary School, 1 Hanson Street west side of Coxwell (2 blocks south of Danforth).

The meeting will feature discussion by trade unionists and unorganized workers about the problem of shutdowns.

For further information contact John Watson 966-

Each worker, thinking only of him or herself, is tempted to support wage-price controls by imagining that it is prices and everybody else's wages that are going to be controlled. But that is not the way it will happen. It's your wage that's going to be controlled, and as for prices — well, the corporations who bankroll the old-line parties are not likely to suffer.

That's why you should say a decisive no to wage controls. Find out where candidates in this election stand on the matter. If and when controls suddenly drop from the sky after October 30, be prepared to take militant action to stop them. Organized and unorganized workers must recognize their common interest and come together to fight this battle. What's at stake is your income.

# the real issues Canada faces



fewer jobs for Canadians. The Americans get most of

## Women's place in the "Just Society"

Four years of talking about the "Just Society" have produced little improvement in the position of women, Canada's largest disadvantaged group.

As workers, students, and houseworkers, women must cope with the failure of the Liberal government to produce stable prices and full employment, as well as, and the continued neglect of their special needs.

Nowhere can the problems of women be more clearly seen than in the workplace. Despite the fact that more and more women are joining the work force every year, they still face higher unemployment, lower salaries, and fewer promotion opportunities than do men. In industry, women workers, usually occupying the low-seniority positions, are extremely vulnerable to the kind of mass lay-offs that are occurring so often in Canada's branch plant economy. Women workers are often the first to go when a company is facing hard times. But in some cases women are kept on in preference to men simply because they are used to working for very low wages.

In the service and clerical areas which are traditionally female, there are still some jobs available. But because so many women are looking for these jobs, employers have been able to attract good workers without improving wages and working conditions. It is very easy for employers to exploit women workers because 80 per cent of them do not belong to trade unions.

The woman who wants to get ahead faces many frustrations. Even in areas where most jobs are held by women, promotions and supervisory positions usually go to men. Those women who have made it through university must accept the fact that this society cannot absorb all its educated young people, and that, even in the professions, men get the best jobs.

Society tends to accept unemployment and underemployment among women because we still implicitly accept the notion that women's place is in the home. But in a modern country

like Canada, most women both want and need to work, and it is the government's duty to lighten the burdens of their dual roles as much as possible.

The increasing problem of day care is a perfect example of government neglect. Many women with children wish to re-enter the labour force, but are prevented from doing so because of inadequate day care facilities. Quality day care is available — but at a price most Canadians cannot afford. For women who must work, the lack of good, inexpensive day care facilities is a tremendous hardship to them and their children. And it is a hardship that only the government can rectify.

The Liberal Government in the past four years has done little to assist women with their special problems. The recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women have not been the basis of any substantial legislation by the Liberals, despite the urgings of virtually every women's group in Canada.

Yet, in this election campaign, women's rights are not being given priority by any political party. At the same time women have shown themselves reluctant to become more involved in politics, despite the half-hearted urgings of the present political leaders. Women surely realize that to involve themselves in traditional political activities is a waste of time, since the political parties do not really represent women and do not have their best interests at heart.

How can women break the cycle of official neglect in which women's problems have never been taken seriously? Women themselves have to organize inside and outside the party structures and adopt a new strategy for changing those things they want changed. Women must band together and demand that the government focus on their problems. This is not a job that can be done by one woman in Parliament, or even two or three. This is a job for all women.

### SHUTDOWN

Meeting will feature speakers on layoffs, unemployment and foreign ownership. Take place on Sunday, October 22nd at 1:00 p.m. in Toronto at the Park Secondary School, 1000 Hanson Street on the corner of Coxwell (2 blocks from Danforth).

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### A Conference on Working Women

Speakers on the history of women in the labour force and the problems of trade union organizing among women. An evening entertainment will feature women performers.

November 11th and 12th in Toronto.

For additional information call: Kelly Crichton - (416) 769-6092, Margaret Rolfe - (416) 535-6206.

## "National Integrity" or What to do about Quebec?

Prime Minister Trudeau has exchanged slogans for this election. He has retired his "Just Society" vision and he has invented a new one — "National Integrity".

By "national integrity", Trudeau is telling us in ad-man's language that he knows how to keep Quebec in line. Trudeau is trying to lull us with the message that he will keep Canada united.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Since he was elected in 1968, we've seen a provincial election in Quebec in which 24 per cent of Quebecers voted for the independentist Parti Quebecois. In October, 1970, we saw troops on the streets of Montreal and the use of the sweeping powers of the War Measures Act for the first time in peacetime. Then last fall we watched the building of a new labour coalition in Quebec that this spring carried out a vast strike among Quebec's public servants.

Beneath Trudeau's glib talk of "national integrity" enormous changes are taking place in Quebec.

Quebecers are moving to defend their own national personality. They are fed up with living with 41% of Canada's unemployment. Whatever we think about these developments, they won't just go away.

We in English Canada should face facts. Quebec is not a province like the others. Quebecers, because of their unique history and culture, will not accept powerful control in their affairs from Ottawa. But that doesn't mean we can give up our desire for a federal government that can really act to deal with our economic problems like unemployment and regional disparities.

It means we have to recognize that we need a new relationship with Quebec different from relations between the other provinces.

If English Canada and Quebec are to make a new start, they should negotiate with each other without pre-conditions. English Canada and Quebec should be free to decide the extent of their mutual relations. Each must have the right of national self-determination. To the extent that the two peoples have common purposes, it would make sense to use common institutions.

But Trudeau's rigid approach is very dangerous. It could mean the loss of federal power in all parts of Canada and might lead to repeat performances of the War Measures Act.

English Canada and Quebec cannot allow that to happen. Our common problem with American ownership of our economy means the survival of both peoples in this country is now at stake. We need a new alliance and fast.

## AT ELECTION TIME

No Vietnam

# THE PARTIES HAVE ALL THE ANSWERS BUT ARE THEY ASKING THE RIGHT QUESTIONS?

## *How do Canadians regain control of their economy?*

If we are going to take back control of our economy from American corporations we can do it through public or through private ownership.

If we do it through private ownership, we will have to give tax breaks and subsidies to Canadian big business, so that they can afford to buy out the Americans.

But who needs Canadian big business? They sold our economy to the Americans in the first place. They have opposed all proposals so far for Canadian independence. They are no more pleasant for workers to deal with than are American owners.

The obvious solution is for the ninety per cent of us who don't own stocks and bonds to take control of our economy through public ownership.

We should start in the resource industries. Publicly owned resource industries would allow us to invest in job creating manufacturing and processing ventures right across Canada.

By paying off the present owners through long-term, low-interest government bonds, we can gain control of our economy out of the current profits from our industries.

## *Who would benefit from wage-price controls?*

The corporations. Profits and prices are higher than they have ever been. Even if wage-price controls were applied fairly, the present gap between wages and prices

would still continue. Corporations would still be making high profits while the rest of us would be stuck with our present low wages, and have no chance to catch up.

## *It's true that it is men who run business and government. But is it fair to blame men in general for discrimination against women?*

It is an oversimplification to blame men for all problems that women suffer. The working man as well as the working woman is exploited by big business. Women, however, are the lowest paid, the last to be promoted, and the least unionized members of the work force. Women with children experience greater difficulty in their

jobs because of inadequate or expensive day care facilities.

Men and women must work together to correct these injuries and guarantee equality for women at work and at home.

## *Does Trudeau's type of federalism make sense for Canada in 1972?*

Prime Minister Trudeau campaigns in English Canada as a French Canadian who can keep his fellow French Canadians in line. That is what he means by "national integrity".

But it's not working. It's time we sat down with Quebec and established a new

relationship based on the recognition of the fact that there are two peoples in this country. English Canada and Quebec should each be free to decide the extent of their relations with the other. To the extent that we have common problems we should have common institutions.

## *What's the point of the Waffle Campaign during the federal election?*

The Waffle group in Ontario and in Saskatchewan is campaigning on vital nation issues being ignored by the political parties. We are not a political party and therefore, we are not running candidates.

But we believe it is significant that for the first time in Canadian history, so many people are involved in campaigns protesting the inadequacy of the programmes being offered by our political parties.

During our campaign, the Waffle is holding meetings around Ontario on the

issues dealt with in this tabloid.

We are mobilizing to put pressure on the politicians to deal with the issues. The campaign involves a province-wide membership drive to build the Waffle movement.

We believe that Canadians who are concerned with the issues of independence and socialism should organize directly rather than relying exclusively on their ballots to convince the parties that they are serious.

### WHAT YOU CAN DO TO GET INVOLVED....

Attend the rallies and public meetings announced in this paper.  
Send a donation to help defray the cost of this tabloid.  
Contact the following people in your area:

#### BRANTFORD:

Harry Sanders (752-5335)

#### HAMILTON:

Paul Middleton (525-2255)

#### KINGSTON:

Rosemary Warskett (544-5808)

#### LONDON:

Mary Campbell (438-0435)

#### OTTAWA:

John Smart (232-3063)

#### SARNIA:

Sam Sharpe (337-8464)

#### ST. CATHARINES:

Steve Wojcik (682-0722)

#### TORONTO North:

Hilary Armstrong (787-1523)

#### TORONTO West:

Margaret Rolfe (535-6206)

#### TORONTO East:

Joey Noble (921-6184)

#### WINDSOR:

Ron and Rose Cavalcue (252-1750)

#### THUNDER BAY:

Harvey Linetsky (344-9548)

Clip and mail this form for membership in the Ontario Waffle:

Name .....

Address .....

Enclose cheque/money order for \$ ..... (\$5.00 minimum)

Payable to the ONTARIO WAFFLE,

Address: Box 339, Station E,  
Toronto, Ontario.

This tabloid was prepared by the Ontario Waffle Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada.

Contributions from: Bonnie Benedik, Ralph Cook, Pat Crawley, Jim Laxer, Jim Littleton, Corileen North, Nicole Sakellaropoulou, John Smart, Mel Watkins, Bruce Winer.

Editorial comments are invited and should be sent to: 5 Dufresne Court,  
Apartment 1401, Don Mills, Ontario.

On Sunday Dec. 24th, a request was made of the foreign affairs subcommittee of the Ottawa and Ontario Waffle about the possibility of making a Waffle statement on the U.S. bombing of Vietnam. A draft was prepared by James Steele, Charlotte McEwen, Lorraine Chaplin and Bela Egyed, which was sent to all Ottawa members.

A few days later the entire membership was phoned for reactions and feed-in. 46 people were contacted directly. All agreed it was a good thing to do. All agreed with the 5 points made. The suggestions made were worked in as well as possible -- Some would have liked it stronger -- or a stronger beginning.

This left 29 we were unable to reach,  
18 out of town  
3 no telephone  
3 missed as time ran out  
4 messages were left to call back  
1 unable to locate (Allaine Armstrong)

The text was finally finished by noon on Friday and arrangements made for a press conference at the Savoy Hotel (Slater St. at O'Connor) -- The press was contacted for a 2:30 conference (the latest we could expect reporters the Friday before New Years week-end -- and the Pearson funeral. briefing was called for 3:30). Efforts were made to reach those Wafflers who had signified an interest in attending.

Present: Can. Press, Ottawa Citizen, CJOR radio.  
Jas. Steele spoke to over telephone -- CJOH  
CBOT

CBC carried it on 5 p.m. news -- giving our 5 points -- but it was "squeezed out", in Ontario-based news at 6 p.m. Carried briefly on CBOT local at 11 p.m.

Our committee feels the timing has been reasonably good on this -- (at least the same day as the ultra respectable Walter Gordon who was making the same point as our introduction). We hope that the challenge issued in the Ottawa Citizen to the two companies will be picked up and lead to further exposure of the present system's tie-in with the increasingly-obvious U.S. oppression in Vietnam. Richard Labonté of Ottawa Citizen is calling the companies.

Copies of reprints of pages from the government catalogue "Canadian Defence Commodities" are available at Mrs. McEwen's 236-2976, and also a copy of the Noumoff Research study on companies receiving U.S. Dept. of Defence contracts, (including those awarded anonymously through the Canadian Commercial Corporation.

The following will be available to consult, and to speak in reply to further developments:

James Steele 746-6723  
Jeff Patterson 234-1436  
Lorraine Chaplin 692-3230

Bela Egyed 234-7544  
Garth Stevenson 224-2668  
Paul Larocque 224-2490 (until Thu.)

Charlotte McEwen